

# IN THESE TIMES

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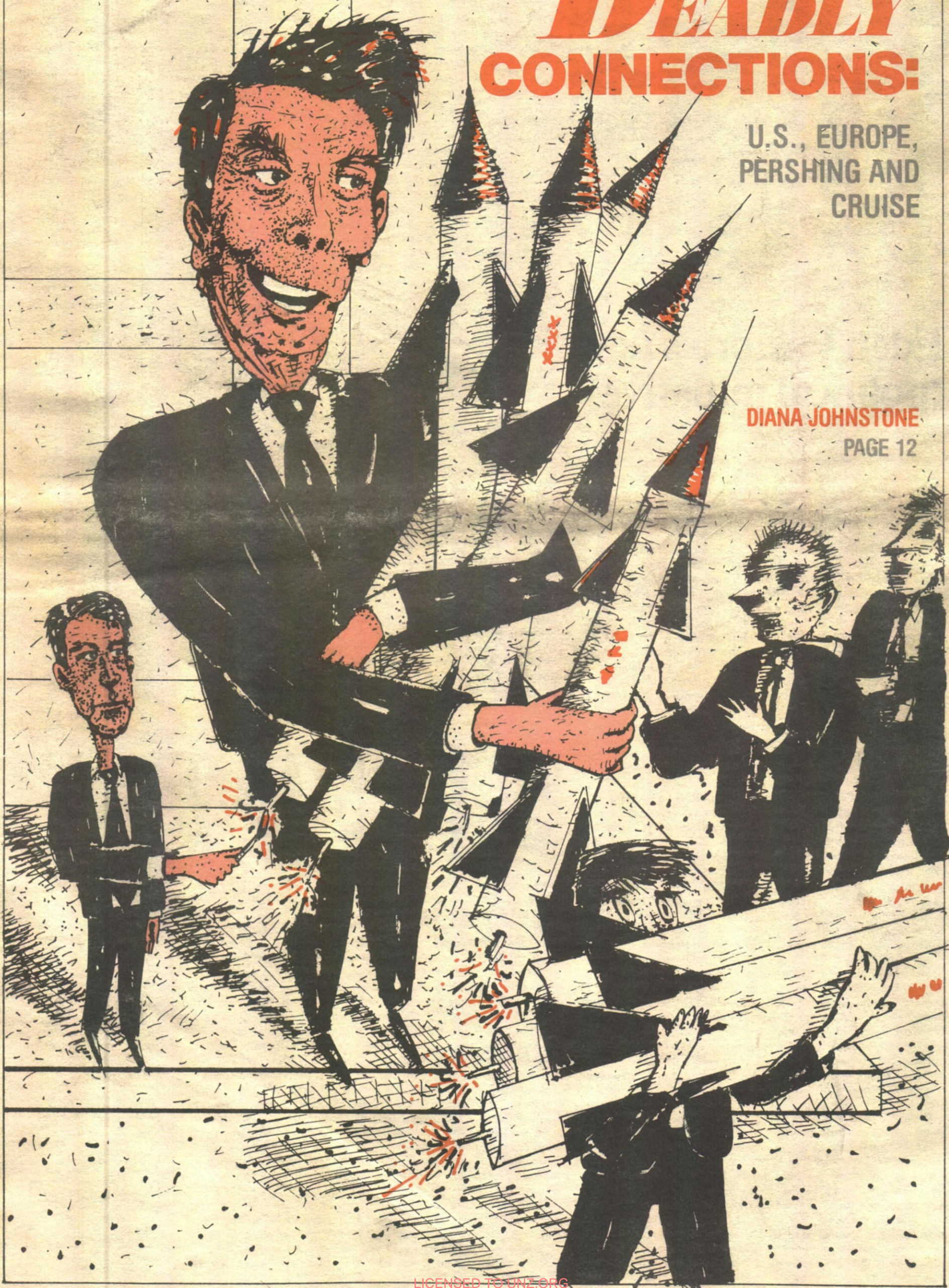
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Another "White Paper"  
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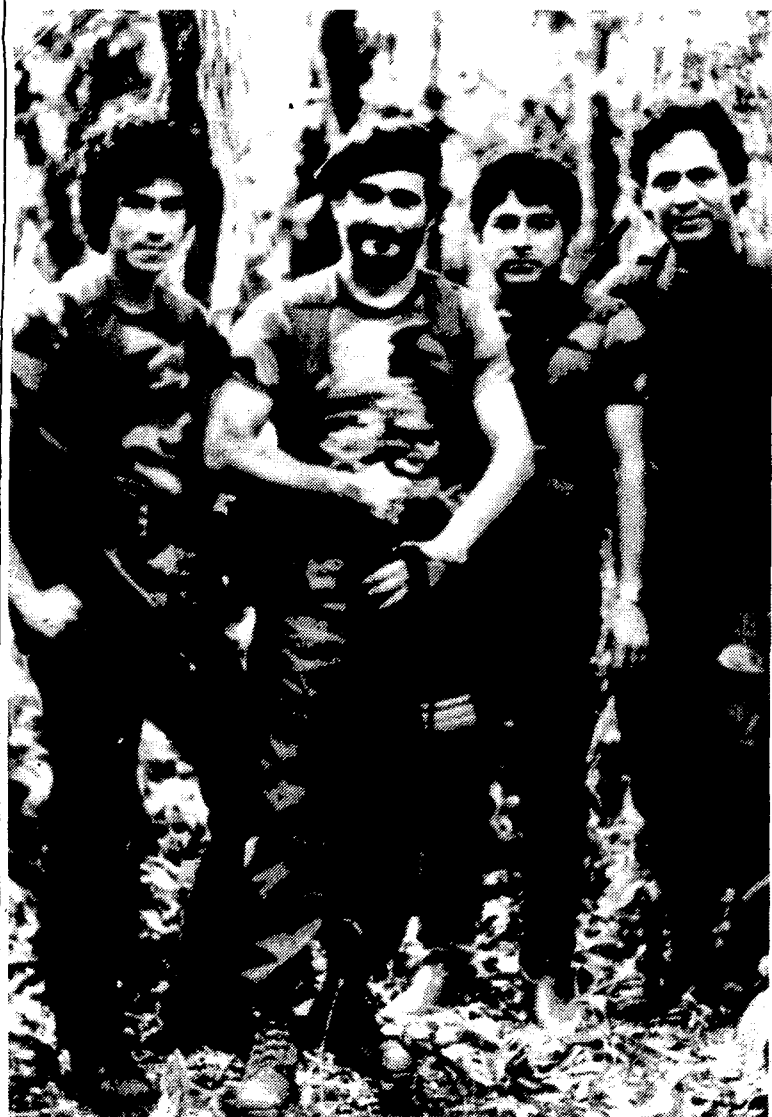
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Anti-Sandinista leader Pastora, center, remains critical of American policy.

## Eden Pastora's new 'political initiative'

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

After being badly injured May 30 in a bomb attack during a press conference in La Penca, Nicaragua, anti-Sandinista leader Eden Pastora has re-emerged with a new "political initiative." At a July 2 press conference and briefing at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Pastora, his badly scarred right hand holding a cane, was joined by Arturo Cruz, the former Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S., and Alfredo Cesar, the former head of the Sandinista Central Bank. They pledged to return to Nicaragua and participate in the upcoming elections if the Sandinistas meet the opposition's conditions for a "democratic election."

Pastora's initiative was new in several respects. It was coupled with a pledge that his guerrilla force, the anti-Sandinista Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), would lay down its arms if the Sandinistas met ARDE conditions for a democratic election. And it allied Pastora—who, as "Commander Zero," was the best known of the Sandinista fighters—with Cruz and Cesar, two prominent and internationally respected former Sandinista officials.

Coming on the heels of a split in Pastora's ARDE caused by his continued unwillingness to join ranks unconditionally with the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) *contras* stationed in Honduras, the new political initiative appeared to counter the CIA plan of uniting ARDE and the FDN militarily against the Sandinistas. But many believe that Pastora's initiative will not result in any agreement with the Sandinistas.

At the press conference reporters tried repeatedly to extract a clear statement of Pastora, Cruz and Cesar's conditions for participating in the Sandinista-called elections, now scheduled for early November. In a special morning briefing, Pastora gave the most succinct and least onerous version of their conditions. "We are asking that the Nicaraguan government do for our guerrillas what the Salvadoran government did for their guerrillas," he said.

But when Pastora, Cruz and Cesar were asked at the press conference about their conditions, they referred to a list formulated by the Nicaraguan internal opposition (the *Coordinadora Democrática*) and by ARDE, which included guarantees of personal safety, freedom of the press, political freedoms, the separation of the state, party and government, and the expulsion of foreign military forces, including the approximately 3,000 Cubans stationed in Nicaragua. Regarding separation of party and state, the Nicaraguan opposition has singled out the army, which, they claim, is under the control of the Sandinista political party rather than the state.

While the Sandinista nine-person directorate has shown some willingness to compromise with demands for press freedoms and freedom of assembly, they are very unlikely to meet the other demands. William Leogrande, professor of political science at American University, describes the conditions as "pre-emptive." "To pose them as a precondition for reconciliation preempts any kind of reconciliation," he said.

The Sandinistas seem to have already ruled out Pastora's participation in the elections. By placing him on trial *in absentia*, the government has indicated that it will treat him as a political criminal if he returns. But Cruz and Cesar, who could return to Nicaragua,

refuse to participate without Pastora.

Pastora, Cruz and Cesar's faint hopes of success rest upon intervention by the Socialist International, which up to now has backed the Sandinistas. Venezuelan Social Democrat Carlos Andres Perez had been a supporter of Pastora. They also rest upon the expectation that Humberto and Daniel Ortega and Jaime Wheelock, the more moderate of the Sandinista leaders, will oust Tomas Borge and Bayardo Arce, the most pro-Soviet and hardline leaders.

Pastora, 49, has always been a controversial figure. A founder of the Sandinista opposition in 1959, he retired from combat in 1974 after serving three jail terms. But then he returned in 1978 as Commander Zero to lead the guerrilla raid on the palace in Managua. His faction of the Southern Front was allied during the revolution with the *Terceristas*, which included the Ortegas and with which Cruz and Cesar were also aligned. The *Terceristas* stood for a mixed economy, political pluralism (the *Terceristas* organized the broader coalition that included the church and business leaders) and non-alignment. But after the revolution, the *Tercerista* leadership turned toward the faction led by Borge and Arce who wanted to take Nicaragua along the path followed by Cuba. Pastora was given a second-line position as vice minister of defense.

In 1981 Pastora disappeared, leaving behind a note that suggested he was going to join the guerrilla movement in Guatemala. He surfaced in 1982 as an opponent of the Sandinista government, which he criticized for abandoning its original model. In September 1982, he formed ARDE, merging his Sandino Revolutionary Front with the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement of businessmen and former member of the Sandinista-led government Alfonso Robelo.

While Robelo, like the former *Somocistas* in the FDN, aim to overthrow the Sandinistas, Pastora has always described his goal as moderating rather than overthrowing the government. "We are called *contras* and anti-Sandinistas, when we are the real Sandinistas," Pastora said last week. "Our struggle is not against the revolution, but against the bad leaders of the revolution."

Pastora describes his political philosophy as "Sandinismo." Contrasting it with the philosophy of the Sandinista leaders, he said, "Sandinismo is nationalist; they apply the internationalism of Marxism-Leninism. Sandinismo is spiritualist; they are materialist atheists. Sandinismo is democratic; they are totalitarians. Sandinismo is peace and love; they are hatred and war."

He has accepted money from the CIA ("With dollars or without, I do what I want," he said), but remains critical of American policy. "The American policy is to support the past," he said. "It is inconceivable not to recognize that in Nicaragua there is a revolution. To claim that the *Somocista* National Guard is going to return to rule is an enormous mistake. What really frightens us about American policy is that after two years it has made no adjustment."

Pastora has said he will not unite with the FDN until it has "cleansed itself" of the *Somocista* elements and adopted a "democratic political project." His refusal to unite unconditionally with the FDN caused the CIA to cut off funding for ARDE and prompted Robelo to attempt to oust Pastora from ARDE. But Pastora appears to retain control over the guerrilla fighters in ARDE. In the recent past, Pastora has been a controversial figure among the major actors in Nicaragua—the Sandinistas, the FDN, Robelo and the CIA. Thus, they have all been accused of being linked to the Pastora assassination plot. The identity of the assassin(s), however, remains unknown.

During his recent visit to the U.S. Pastora met with administration officials and Congress members. There appears to be little interest in ARDE among conservative opponents of the Sandinistas, and while Pastora commands some respect among liberals, no one, in the words of one Democratic policy advisor, "thinks he has a

## THE STORY INSIDER

snowball's chance in hell of overthrowing the Sandinistas."

Within the broader left and liberal lobbying community, opinion is divided over Pastora. Robert Leiken of the Carnegie Endowment is one of Pastora's most outspoken defenders (*In These Times*, Jan. 25). Leiken believes that Pastora, Cruz and Cesar represent a "third force" between the authoritarianism of the right and of the Marxist-Leninist left. He rejects the argument that democracy is not viable in underdeveloped Third World countries like Nicaragua.

Others believe that Pastora is a hopeless romantic or opportunist and that the option he represents is not historically viable. Reggie Norton of the Washington Office on Latin America describes Pastora as a "romantic." "He has been lauded beyond his desserts and part of this has gone to his head," Norton said.

Norton argues that "if the Sandinistas had not taken the course they've taken, if the original government had only included one or two Sandinistas, you would have gotten very few of the basic reforms that the country needs." While Leiken, Cruz and Cesar blame many of the regime's economic failures on the Sandinistas' policies, Norton blames them on American opposition to the regime.

With Pastora presently out of favor with the CIA, this argument within the left has little bearing on the policy debate in Congress. "It doesn't matter what they think of Pastora, because they are all against the covert operations," said Cindy Buhl of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "That's the bottom line."



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By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**T**HERE WAS SOMETHING UN-conventional about the pre-convention gathering of several hundred delegates and other members of Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition in Chicago at the end of June. The primary season was over and Walter Mondale was all but nominated, but Jackson was still running hard, not so much for the victory that had never been a realistic possibility, but for "an agenda" that he still hoped to press on a reluctant Democratic Party.

There was no sense of defeat here. Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, chair of Jackson's California campaign, said exuberantly, "This coalition has won already, because our candidate has won already."

It is easy to demonstrate that Jackson

Rainbow Coalition a more structured, institutionalized presence within the Democratic Party at all levels.

His vision of the Rainbow Coalition highlighted the tension between Jackson the ethnic politician, whose solid base of support from blacks gave him national credibility, and Jackson the left-wing populist, who aspires to a broader national following on issues that transcend his base, such as nuclear disarmament, negotiation of differences with the Soviet Union, support for Third World liberation movements and corporate responsibility.

"The Rainbow is a moral cause, not just a political campaign," Jackson said. "We must measure our strength by a value system." What is important about the rainbow symbol is "not just the colors but the goal at the end of the rainbow. The Rainbow must make room for kind, not just color.... The Rainbow should be known by its destination and

votes—a rainbow of racial minorities, white representatives of various liberal and left causes, and some less predictable members, like a group of middle-aged farmers from the American Agricultural Movement in Missouri. However, Jackson wants broader composition: "Leadership in New Mexico next time should look like New Mexico. You can't have a black chairman in Iowa and be realistic or representative."

#### Ethnic power bases.

Yet 76 percent of Jackson's votes came from blacks, according to a campaign analysis. Without that ethnic power base, Jackson would have had less appeal to other minorities and to many whites. It helps to explain one of Jackson's most damaging campaign decisions: the tie to Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. In part Jackson sees his coalition as bringing together a variety of minorities, each of whom has previously forged its own unity. Farrakhan would flunk most tests of being a "progressive," vague though that term is, but he was seen as symbolic of a new black unity as he announced participation in politics for the first time.

Ultimately, Jackson probably lost more than he gained with Farrakhan's support, and the Democrats certainly did, since Farrakhan's followers are unlikely to support a white Democrat of any political stripe. But Jackson, even as he had his campaign issue a condemnation of Farrakhan's latest attacks on Israel as a "criminal conspiracy" and Judaism as

## The Rainbow is "progressives who want to change things."

port by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate concluded that Jackson had a "major influence on turnout." In 12 states where he received more than 15 percent of the Democratic primary vote, turnout increased from an average of 13 percent of the voting age population in 1980 to 15.3 percent—an increase of nearly one-fifth. In states where Jackson did less well, turnout on the average declined by 1.8 percentage points.

Jackson's strongest impact came in states Mondale will need in the South, industrial heartland and border states. That is why the Democrats and Jackson needed to patch over the deepening Farrakhan rift. Jackson obliquely talked of the fruitlessness of attempts to isolate him, but he realizes that to be taken seriously he, too, needs to stay near the party mainstream, pushing it to the left. (Some supporters warned that despite black loyalties to the Democrats, Jackson and blacks would be scapegoated if Mondale is defeated.)

Already Jackson has kept the party from veering rightward, argues Howard University political science professor Alvin Thornton. But as one of Jackson's platform committee representatives, Thornton was able to push through the Jackson position on Africa and some rhetorical flourishes on justice, equality and non-interventionist foreign policy. Jackson forces will file minority reports on voting rights (after meeting with Mondale, Jackson hinted that he would not insist on elimination of all second primaries), defense spending (calling for "substantial real reductions over the next five years" and linking cuts to jobs and economic growth), no first use of nuclear weapons (including a freeze on Pershing and cruise deployment) and affirmative action (Thornton called the platform committee's dilution of support its "most negative action").

The Jackson thesis—reiterated by many supporters—is that Mondale cannot win by moving to the center (a sink-hole of American politics, according to Chicago-based political scientist Bob Starks). He can only win by moving to the left, incorporating and expanding the constituencies of the Rainbow Coalition.

"I don't think the center is that strong any more," argues campaign vice chairman and former Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner. "If Mondale were to adopt even semi-progressive positions, he could win, and the only way is to incorporate the Jackson constituencies and Jackson ideas.... Jackson is offering them victory. They'll have to adopt it. Even if they don't at the convention, they'll do it later when they're losing."

But Mondale has the task of not only stirring the enthusiasm of the political lock-outs and drop-outs, but also welding them to the traditional Democratic core of working-class whites and picking up significant numbers of the younger, white "independents." Blue-collar whites are still largely excluded from the Rainbow's "new political majority" that is defined as "blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Arab-Americans, women, Jews, gays and lesbians."

Although Jackson got 85 percent of the black vote and substantial chunks of votes from Asians and Hispanics (17 percent in California, a third in New York), he received only a little more than 5 percent of non-Hispanic white votes (about the same as for Jews as a sub-group). Yet an ABC-Washington Post poll indicated that one-fourth of all registered voters and one-third of registered Democrats would be more likely to vote for Jackson's recommended candidate. Jack-

*Continued on page 10*

# Jackson campaign asks what lies at the end of the Rainbow



*Jackson's real tasks are expanding the democratic electorate and pushing the party to the left.*

has won—or lost. The difference is in the standard of measurement. Jackson clearly came nowhere near being nominated. But he can claim victories in Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Washington, D.C., and Louisiana. He won 398 delegates and can expect some uncommitted or favorite-son delegates of Mayor Harold Washington to go to him. When he started, most professionals thought he would win at most 150 to 200 delegates. By doubling that, he surprised everyone.

Yet the real test of Jackson's candidacy—as he has often said—is neither his own success through the convention in San Francisco nor whatever contribution he might make to the defeat of Reagan in the fall. Rather it is in expanding the Democratic electorate, moving the party left and inspiring blacks and others in the Rainbow Coalition to run for local office.

At the Chicago strategy session, Jackson ticked off an agenda for convention battles on issues, party rules and seating of delegates. Equally important, Jackson made it clear that he wants to make the

value, not color and sex." It is, he said, an "ideological rainbow" representing the locked out. Unlike conservatives who preserve the status quo and liberals who seek reform, the Rainbow is made up of "progressives, who want to change things," Jackson said.

One of Jackson's greatest weaknesses throughout his career has been his failure to build solid organizations that do more than support his personal political ventures. But now Jackson at least is talking about forming state structures that will have a "disciplined process" of polling, district conventions and professionally sound criteria for endorsements. He warned against building a movement based on personal ties or on race. "Do you realize that just because somebody's black does not make them progressive?" he asked the approving delegates and supporters. "You may be born black, but you must choose to be progressive. It's a school of thought."

The local leaders meeting in Chicago reflected—even more than Jackson's

a "dirty [or 'gutter'] religion," still maintained his ties to the Nation of Islam. One of its leaders accompanied him to the regular Operation PUSH Saturday meeting, and received a standing ovation from the packed auditorium when he was introduced.

Despite signs that the battle was over, Jackson insisted that when he goes to San Francisco he will try to get more delegates and to change party rules that give establishment candidates like Mondale a decided edge. By one campaign tabulation Jackson received 3.2 million votes in primaries and caucuses—18 percent of those cast—but won only 10 percent of delegates. (More typically Jackson refers to 20 to 22 percent of the vote and 7 percent of the delegates.) That locks out once again, he says, the two million new voters Jackson claims to have brought in to the party.

#### Influence on turnout.

It is difficult to tell how accurate any estimates on registration are. But a new re-



# IN SHORT

## Striking nurses on hold

After announcement of progress in talks toward settling the five week old strike by 6,300 nurses at Twin Cities hospitals, negotiations have "bogged down" over procedures to recall the striking nurses, according to a hospital spokesperson. Mordecai Spektor reports that the hospitals and nurses were apparently close to agreeing on one of the key issues of the strike: nurses would be recalled and laid off on the basis of hospital-wide seniority. But disagreements on when to begin implementing the new contract language on layoffs and recalls is now snarling the negotiations. Negotiators for the Minnesota Nurses Association (MNA) are asking that all nurses be recalled within 15 days—at least "on paper"—while the hospitals (represented by their bargaining agents, Health Employers, Inc.) propose a six week transition period. Michael Phillips, industrial relations director for Health Employers, Inc., said, "We'll be at this for weeks."

Picketing nurses at one hospital said that their impression is that nurses who cross the picket line and are now working will be retained by the hospitals regardless of their seniority. A nurse said that at least one hospital was contacting striking nurses and telling them that now is the time to cross the line and return to work in order to have a guaranteed job. Other issues at stake in the largest nurses' strike in the nation include hours reductions ordered by the hospitals and proposed reductions in health insurance benefits. Although the terms of the tentative agreement have not been made public yet, observers agree that these issues have been negotiated to the nurses' satisfaction.

## Sanctuary smuggle

A simple case of alien smuggling. That's how Judge Filemon Vela characterized sanctuary worker Stacey Merkt's offense when he sentenced her to 90 days in jail and two years of probation late last month, reports Richard Ryan. The jury of the Brownsville, Texas, Federal Court found Merkt guilty on charges of transporting Salvadoran refugees (see *In These Times*, February 29).

Before a courtroom audience of more than 100 clergy and supporters, many of whom had traveled in an all-night caravan to the Texas border town, Vela professed admiration for Merkt's strong stand. But he warned that he would not in the future show leniency to Merkt or others who transported refugees. Vela rejected Merkt's claim to special status as a church worker and instructed the jury to disregard defense attempts to link the case with the Congressional Refugee Act of 1980. Thus the government and immigration officials continue to avoid a potentially explosive confrontation with church groups over the legality of giving sanctuary to refugees.

Following her sentencing, Merkt traveled 10 miles up the road to Casa Oscar Romero in San Benito where 1,200 Salvadorans have been sheltered in the past two years. Vowing to appeal her conviction, she said, "I'm not a celebrity, I'm not a martyr and I'm certainly not a felon."

## Church vs. consumer power

The health-care industry is trying to block the first state-wide experiment in consumer health care decision-making, reports Steve Askin. The American Hospital Association, the Catholic Health Association and other hospital groups filed a federal suit in late June seeking to overturn a West Virginia law that mandates public representation on the board of directors of government and non-profit hospitals. The law, which was to take effect July 1, says that 40 percent of board seats must be set aside for members of four consumer groups: the elderly, organized labor, small business and people with income below the national average. It also tells hospitals to make special efforts to include women, racial minorities and the handicapped.

One of the strongest protests came from the Catholic hospitals. They claim that the rules would force them to appoint board members "whose paramount and overriding dedication is not to the rendition of care to the sick, injured, infirm, indigent, aged and disabled." Backers of the West Virginia law have pointed out that few hospital boards include any workers or poor people, while many are dominated by officials from large corporations.

## Nukes on the defense

As expected, the federal jury last month convicted the Griffiss Plowshares Seven of property damage and conspiracy for sneaking into a strategic air command base in Rome, N.Y., and hammering on a B-52 bomber (see *In These Times*, June 13). But the jury acquitted the seven antinuclear activists of a third charge—damaging national defense materials, or sabotage, reports Jonathan Rosenblum.

The defendants hailed the split decision as a victory, saying the jury apparently accepted their argument that government prosecutors failed to show how the air-launched cruise missile and its carrier, the B-52, are a legitimate part of the national defense. The defense had another reason to celebrate: for the bulk of the trial, U.S. District Judge Howard G. Munson allowed the seven to argue that their actions were legally justified by the imminent threat of nuclear war. In the end, Munson barred the jury from considering the justification defense. But as the lead federal prosecutor noted, Munson's backtracking was as futile as trying "to put toothpaste back in the tube." As one reporter put it, "For a while it seemed that nuclear weapons were on trial."

—Beth Maschinot



Peter Kuper © 1984, INX

## Elections no threat to army

GUATEMALA CITY—Guatemala's military government held elections July 1, the first move toward return to civilian rule. Officials hailed the elections as "the first step toward establishment of democracy." The army, however, remains Guatemala's dominant institution and will remain the real power even when it is finally off the throne.

These elections were to select a constituent assembly, which the army says will be allowed to write a constitution to prepare for the real contest next year: presidential and general elections.

Centrist parties—the Christian Democrats and the newly formed National Centrist Union (UCN)—beat the traditional parties discredited by their association with the violence and corruption of past military governments.

Voting for the two traditionally strong parties, the Christian Democrats and the centrist National Liberation Movement (MLN) was distributed geographically. The Christian Democrats received the most votes, winning the Indian highlands and south coast area. The MLN, allied with the other main rightist party, trailed behind the UCN in third place. Yet it did well in the conservative eastern part of the

country, a traditional stronghold. The MLN, representative of the agro-export sector, was weakened by a split, resulting in the formation of another ultra-right party, the anti-Communist Unification Party (PUA).

The elections and the parties that ran hold no real threat to the continued power of the army and the private sector. While the embassy's briefing books described the political parties as ranging from right to left, in reality the parties go from ultra-right to center right. The authentic voices of the left are outside of the electoral process: the true social democrats, Manuel Colom Argueta and Fuentes Mohr, were assassinated by the government in 1980 and the Marxist left is fighting a guerrilla war against the military.

While in the highly skewed Guatemalan political spectrum the Christian Democrats, headed by Venicio Cerezo, are called left, they are really moderate rightists, having abandoned all attempts at serious structural change such as agrarian reform. Despite their tame program, the Christian Democrats were targeted for assassination by the Lucas Garcia regime (1978-82) when approximately 80 party leaders were killed and the party infrastructure was badly damaged.

Two small parties slightly to the left of the Christian Democrats called themselves social democrats, yet neither is officially recognized by the Socialist In-

ternational (SI). The SI recognizes Guatemala's clandestine Social Democratic Party (PSD), which is not participating in the elections. The SI has said that conditions for free elections don't exist in Guatemala at this time.

Meanwhile, violence has risen again in the cities, with a wave of kidnappings and murders believed to be carried out by the police and army. Union leaders and students are the particular targets.

The spectacular Indian highlands are silent presently, but with a silence echoing the army's massacre in 1982 of between 5,000 and 15,000 Indians suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas. Now the survivors are undergoing the next stage of pacification—settlement in Vietnam-style strategic hamlets called "model villages."

The Reagan administration will claim that the successfully completed elections and the victories by centrist parties are an important step toward democracy and use the elections to lobby for increased aid to Guatemala. Yet the recent elections are only a straw ballot for presidential and general elections next year. Even if centrist parties do win, they have no program to confront the basic problems of the country. The structural problems of Guatemala—the unbalanced distribution of wealth and land—will continue to exist and will fuel the struggle for more profound reorganization. —Chris Norton



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## Helms gets FCM boost

In North Carolina, with little more than four months to election day, Republican Sen. Jesse Helms' re-election campaign against moderate Democrat Gov. James B. Hunt received an unexpected boost in June when the Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM), the nation's third largest ideological PAC, announced a \$1 million independent expenditure to re-elect Helms.

FCM kicked off their independent campaign for Helms June 16 with a barrage of 30-second TV spots that ran 99 times in 10 days in North Carolina's five major TV markets. The ad features the U.S. Congress' wealthiest legislator, Cong. Jim Broyhill, endorsing Helms in the Senate race. Don Hobart of the Hunt campaign responded to FCM's TV ads, calling the group a "political hit squad." He cited the "Repeal O'Neill" campaign FCM ran against House Speaker Tip O'Neill in Massachusetts and a series of ads FCM aimed at Jerry Brown in California.

Though the ad focuses on Broyhill's endorsement of Helms and is not stridently negative, Hobart seems correct about FCM's concern with promoting right-wing politics. The conservative PAC, founded in 1969, has targeted more than 150 congressional races around the country this year and expects to raise and spend more than \$6 million on conservative candidates, according to Suzanne Scholte, FCM's political director.

"We'll spend \$1 million on the Helms race and \$3 million for President Reagan's re-election," Scholte said. "The rest we'll spend on congressional races where we'll spend up to the legal maximum of \$5,000 for PAC contributions."

FCM, which has more than 150,000 members nationwide, spent \$2 million on Reagan's election in 1980 and was behind the write-in effort that garnered Reagan 5,000 votes in this year's New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary.

The issue of independent expenditures is a controversial one. Many critics point out that it is a major loophole in the 1974 federal election law designed to limit

the influence of outside groups on political campaigns.

Nonetheless, the Hunt campaign says it is not worried about the independent expenditure. "They're not from North Carolina. They're out-of-state. They're only interested in promoting a right-wing philosophy," Hobart said. "The people of North Carolina will know that."

FCM pollster Lance Tarrance says his poll shows that North Carolinians support Helms based on his job performance and style and that the independent expenditure is "healthy for the system." He said FCM's purchase of TV time promoting Helms allows them to "do some things a campaign can't do."

"It [independent expenditure for TV time] focuses on issues and provides for enhancing special issue areas," said Tarrance, who did polling for California Gov. George Deukmejian's recent election.

In the Democratic camp, the Hunt campaign first took the high road avoiding negative advertising. But when Hunt's lead in the polls steadily deteriorated from a high of 20 percentage points one year ago, they switched their tactics and went on the attack.

"I'm ready to start negative advertising," said Hunt campaign co-director Gary Pearce in early June. A few days later the Hunt camp unveiled a TV ad linking Helms to Roberto D'Aubuisson's ARENA party in El Salvador, as well as other fascist politicians in Argentina and South Africa.

But the Hunt campaign still must contend with the war chest of Jesse Helms' National Congressional Club, which Helms formed after his 1972 election, and the Republican National Committee, which has pledged the legal maximum of \$380,000 to Helms' race. The Congressional Club is a sophisticated direct mail operation that raises millions through nationwide solicitation for support of conservative candidates.

Helms' campaign spokesman Claude Allen said he expects the campaign to raise and spend about \$6 million "with about 30 percent of that going for radio, newspaper, TV and direct mail advertising."

Allen said the Hunt campaign's criticism of FCM's independent expenditure is "sour grapes."

—Sean Bailey



Illinois Labor History Society

## Briefing: Obstacles to union organizing

If most political soothsayers are wrong and there's a Democratic president and Senate next January, expect a quick push for labor law reform. At the very least, labor wants to halt the delays that were damaging before Reagan and crippling since. Union victories in National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) elections have hit a new low. Even worse, Harvard Law School professor Paul Weiler reports that roughly half the time unions win an election, the employers do not sign a contract.

In recent hearings called by the House labor-management relations subcommittee, prestigious academics like Weiler and Harvard economics professor Richard B. Freeman, co-author of the new book, *What Do Unions Do?*, largely backed up the bitter, militant testimony of several union presidents—Richard Trumka of the Mineworkers, William Wynn of the Food and Commercial Workers, William Bywater of the Electronics Workers and James Kane of the United Electrical Workers—that labor law has now become more of a hindrance than a help to workers who want to organize.

The union presidents generally were ready to scrap all labor law and return to pure power struggles, or at least jettison laws enacted since the 1935 National Labor Relations Act. Wynn said that his union had already decided to avoid the NLRB whenever possible: last year UFCW organized 64,000 workers, nearly half the AFL-CIO total, and "only a fraction of that number joined our union as a result of a NLRB election or other proceeding."

A recent survey of NLRB organizing campaigns by the AFL-CIO provides a snapshot

of problems and possibilities. There's more success in the service sector (54 percent) than manufacturing (36 percent), and manufacturing organizing drives are toughest in New England and among older workers. (Fear of plant closings and job loss seems to be taking its toll.) The odds of winning an election and getting a contract are much higher when a company has a union at other locations (in manufacturing, the chances of winning both election and contract at a totally non-union firm are a mere 15 percent).

Nearly 70 percent of the elections involved units with a majority of women, but the success rate was unaffected by gender. However, good supervision and the presence of quality-of-worklife programs did appreciably reduce union success.

In *What Do Unions Do?* Freeman and James L. Medoff cite two major reasons for decline in organizing success: management resistance and reduced union organizing activity. From 1953 to 1974 real union expenditures on organizing per non-union worker dropped 30 percent, for example. At the same time, management resistance (including delays) was the biggest problem: Freeman and Medoff calculate that at least one in 20 workers who favored a union was fired during organizing drives in 1980 (and their figures would automatically underestimate the number). Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO organizing department study claims that use of the sophisticated union-busting consultant only boosts employer victories by 2 percentage points.

Machine politics delayed for many years unionization of Chicago city and county employees. But with new enabling legislation going into effect this summer and a new mayor sympathetic to municipal unions (especially AFSCME, which supported him), that has changed—in part. AFSCME won 7,450 of the city employees covered by the elections in June, and a Service Employee/

Electrical Workers team won 1,600. Unions benefited from big election units and a sympathetic administration as well as long years of organizing, but Teamsters and Laborers accustomed to old "handshake" agreements instead of contracts appealed most of the results.

But among the 10,000 county employees who were divided into many small units, less assiduously courted and more subject to anti-union influence of various machine politicians, the unions—especially AFSCME—did poorly, winning representation altogether for only about one-fourth of the workers. Service Employees—largely working through their District 925—did proportionately better with county than city employees, where despite considerable effort they were not even on the ballot in four of the five units.

Thanks to work by its local leaders on the left, the 830,000-member Service Employee union voted at its May convention to oppose the MX missile and the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles. Although it supported a 3 percent real increase in military spending, the union endorsed the Jobs With Peace movement and called for the U.S. to adopt a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons. Left-sponsored resolutions, which ultimately were also supported by the union's top leadership, called for an end to all military aid to El Salvador and to the anti-Sandinista *contras* and support for the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. SEIU also broke with the AFL-CIO by opposing the Simpson-Mazzoli legislation on immigration.

—David Moberg



Sen. Jesse Helms got \$1 million from FCM.



## IN THE NATION

## CONGRESS

## Immigration bill battle not over yet

By Cecilio J. Morales Jr.

WASHINGTON

**R**EP. ROMANO MAZZOLI (D-KY) was kept on tenterhooks by his colleagues in the House of Representatives until the very last tally of votes on the proposed Simpson-Mazzoli bill. Late June 20, the House gave Mazzoli, who had first introduced the bill March 17, 1982, a razor-thin victory of 216 to 211.

"This was Armageddon," was Mazzoli's final comment at the end of business. But the immigration bill battle is not over yet. Still pending is the House/Senate conference committee to harmonize the two versions, and in addition the act's implementation, which will prove whether Congress has crafted a workable policy or bought a lemon. Political realignments have taken place that could affect this year's presidential policies.

Through seven days of debate, House changes led interest groups as disparate as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO to join forces with civil rights and ethnic groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), in

But the most devastating blow to the Republicans came from Reagan himself. On record as favoring an amnesty only for aliens who entered the U.S. before 1980, Reagan stated his preference for a 1982 cut-off during his June 14 press conference. His words turned many conservatives, including Rep. Kent Hance (D-TX), who a month ago campaigned in his state primary on an anti-amnesty plank, against Republican initiatives to restrict or kill legalization.

By June 18 several officials from the departments of Justice and Labor privately said that, despite White House confirmation of the president's views, they believed Reagan's words were a "misstatement." The next day, Rep. Hamilton Fish (R-NY) read from the floor a letter of clarification from Attorney General William French Smith, which turned out—contrary to expectations—to bear 1982 as the favored date. One official told *In These Times* that it was a "clerical fumble," leaving the matter unresolved.

The vote for passage was immediately preceded by hours of acrimonious debate on legalization, with the AFL-CIO and Chamber of Commerce positions surfacing in the legislators' comments every few minutes, leading an exasperated Rep. Dan Lungren (R-CA) to cry out, "I don't

version of H-2 provisions also differs

from the Senate's, which requires certification that U.S. laborers are not displaced. In legalization, the House has a one-tier program for all who came before 1982, while the Senate offers permanent residence to entrants prior to 1977, and "temporary" status to those up to 1980.

Dale F. Swartz, president of the National Forum on Immigration, said he has been consulted by several congressional offices and lobbyists as to the likelihood of stalling the bills indefinitely after Congress returns from its current recess, which began June 29. But Swartz, who has played referee in regular weekly meetings that have included the major actors on the legislation since 1981, said that he is looking beyond the political tactics. The Forum, under sponsorship of the Ford Foundation, began last year to examine implementation of a Simpson-Mazzoli bill by holding meetings in Denver, Chicago, New York and Miami. "I've learned that there are a lot of ques-

Swartz is not alone. As the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the lead federal agency in the field, some wonder how best to enforce sanctions. Eleven states already have employer sanction laws, but only one case in Kansas ever resulted in a conviction. In California, a law signed by then-Gov. Reagan, resulted in only one charge, which was dismissed in 1974. Gov. Jerry Brown, Reagan's successor, issued an order terminating enforcement, after a refusal by the state legislature to appropriate funds for the purpose.

Similarly, legalization—a one-time program under either house's version—imposes upon the INS the burden of verifying applications by what could be several million undocumented aliens within 12 months. The INS is authorized to contract with voluntary agencies to undertake screening of applicants.

But according to LULAC's Joe Trev-

Continued on page 10

## LABOR

## Some union leaders harshly condemn the IRD

By Steve Askin

WASHINGTON

**T**HE LARGELY SUBTERRANEAN foreign policy split between the AFL-CIO's left and right wings took an odd twist last month when leaders of some of the largest U.S. unions harshly condemned the Institution on Religion and Democracy (IRD).

IRD was formed three years ago as a hardline anti-Communist caucus in the major Christian churches. The group has repeatedly charged that mainline Protestant church leaders support far-left "totalitarianism" (see *In These Times*, Feb. 9, 1983). It professes strong support for the U.S. labor movement and "free trade unions" around the world.

Leaders of the Methodist, Presbyterian and other major denominations had long sought outside allies in their fights with IRD. They received welcome news last month from clothing and textile workers union Secretary-Treasurer Jack Sheinkman, who appeared at New York's Riverside Church to announce that the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (IUD) had voted to condemn IRD's "effort to mask its neo-conservative program by paying lip service to trade unionism." The IUD said that IRD is "avowedly conservative and often exploits the support of anti-worker elements." (IUD, descended from the old Congress of Industrial Unions, is the labor federation's largest and most liberal trade division, with 53 unions representing more than five million members.)

Earlier in the month, one of the largest IUD members issued an even stronger statement. The United Auto Workers union (UAW) international executive board denounced "IRD's scurrilous attacks on churches and church leaders and its shameless pandering of 'intelligence' reports on church activities to anti-union corporations."

This unusual labor entry into religious politics was presented as a defense of church-labor coalitions on domestic issues. IUD lauded church support for union organizing and full employment legislation. It noted that such pro-labor actions "have sparked criticism from [church] members who are more responsive to corporate America."

IRD staff consultant Penn Kemble said the labor statements were factually wrong and politically naive. Wrong, he argued, because IRD proclaims itself a "moderate" group, not "avowedly conservative," and one which rarely addresses domestic issues. And naive, he argued, because labor's real church enemies are to be found, not at IRD, but among the

groups it attacks.

As evidence, Kemble offered a pamphlet from the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communications Action that denounces the AFL-CIO's Central America arm as a "joint venture" with the "Department of State, U.S. corporations and the CIA." If union officials "start lumping people like me with the right wing as anti-union, they've lost a large sector of the American people who are friendly to labor and anti-Communist," he said.

Lurking below the surface in unionists' response to IRD is a faction fight within the labor movement. The UAW resolution alluded to this by declaring that IRD's actions "threaten to strain relations between the churches and the labor movement, in part because of the union ties of some IRD leaders." Those ties run deep.

IRD's founding father was David Jessup, an AFL-CIO political action department official. He and Kemble are active in the Social Democrats U.S.A. (SDUSA), a group with strong representation in AFL-CIO leadership. They espouse political views not unlike those of federation President Lane Kirkland or his predecessor George Meany: firmly anti-Communist but liberal on the domestic economy. To form IRD, they coalesced with a mixed bag of "neo" and traditional religious conservatives.

IRD's leading labor critics are also opponents of traditional AFL-CIO foreign policy. Sheinkman is the most visible leader of labor opposition to U.S. Central America policy. He, along with leaders of the autoworkers, machinists and other industrial unions, successfully pressed the AFL-CIO to adopt a resolution opposing U.S. military aid to El Salvador at its last convention.

In private, labor doves sometimes wonder how much change they have really made. They suggest that SDUSA-style hardliners maintain a stranglehold on labor movement foreign programs and complain about the AFL-CIO's continuing role in implementing U.S. foreign policy. They note that the AIFLD and similar labor agencies for Asia and Africa receive more than 90 percent of their funding from the U.S. State Department, and have served as the U.S. government's subcontractors in organizing such projects as the much criticized El Salvadoran land reform program.

The anti-IRD statements must thus be read as a rebellion of sorts against this AFL-CIO foreign policy. But it is a cautious rebellion, by officials unwilling or unable to directly attack their real targets.

Steve Askin is Washington bureau chief of the National Catholic Reporter.



their opposition to the bill. Although the coalition did not prevent the bill's passage, it left both sides of the aisle wondering about potential political fallout.

Surprisingly, the Democratic-controlled House alienated the AFL-CIO—the mainstay behind Walter Mondale's presidential candidacy—by selecting, out of three possible options, the temporary worker or H-2 amendment most palatable to two conservative, heavily lobbying growers' associations, crafted by Rep. Leon Panetta (D-CA). Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX) called it a "rent-a-slave" program, and the "vote no" letter of June 19 from AFL-CIO legislative director Ray Dennison was widely credited with narrowing the final vote.

Republicans also appeared to commit political *hari-kari*, although the initiative in every instance came, oddly enough, from the White House. First, the Reagan administration helped defeat an amendment to employer sanctions proposed by Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA) and helped replace that with a compromise version by Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA). Frank's measure made recordkeeping by employers compulsory. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which had earlier switched from "nay" to "yea" due to Hawkins' move, reinstated its opposition to the bill.

care what the AFL or the Chamber say."

But both Democrats and Republicans knew the bill's political scars were deep. Two days later, on June 22, an auditorium-full of Hispanic members of LULAC gave the Rev. Jesse Jackson a standing ovation at its annual convention in El Paso, Texas. Shortly before Jackson spoke, LULAC President Mario Obledo had called upon Hispanic delegates to the Democratic convention to refrain from voting for Mondale on the first ballot. "Congress has told Mexicans they are welcome, but only as stoop laborers," said LULAC past President Tony Bonilla, a Mondale supporter who endorsed Obledo's challenge.

Among Republicans there was also concern. As one Republican staffer conceded, "On one hand, we've got anti-foreigner mail pouring in by the bucketful, and on the other, we've got the president saying he wants amnesty. We've followed the president, but there'll be hell to pay."

Certainly, differences between the House and Senate bills lend themselves to political combat. The Senate bill is stricter than the House's on employers who hire undocumented aliens and, unlike the House bill, provides no anti-discrimination remedy. The House failed to adopt the Senate's sweeping revision of legal immigration preferences. Panetta's



## FOREIGN POLICY

## White Paper II: more of same

By Joy Hackel

WASHINGTON

A JOINT DEPARTMENT OF State and Department of Defense background paper titled "Nicaragua's Military Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion" was due to be officially released early this week. According to State Department official John Blacken, the report presents "a composite picture of Nicaragua's phenomenal military buildup and its service as a nerve center of subversion to neighboring countries."

The release of the report, an advance copy of which *In These Times* obtained June 30, coincides with the Reagan administration's new campaign to obtain military aid for its Central American allies shortly after Congress refused to appropriate an additional \$21 million for the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces in Nicaragua. The report is also widely interpreted as a response to the growing pressure on the administration to produce concrete evidence of cross-border arms flow from Nicaragua to El Salvador.

Pressure to offer extensive proof of arms shipments mounted in recent weeks following allegations by a former CIA analyst that the Reagan administration is misleading Congress and the public about Nicaraguan activity in El Salvador. David C. MacMichael, a former CIA employee with a high-level security clearance and access to all "top secret" classified intelligence data related to Central America, said in a front-page *Washington Post* story on June 13 that the administration has lacked credible evidence of a substantial arms flow from Nicaragua since the spring of 1981. MacMichael, a former Marine captain, served as an analyst in Southeast Asia and acted as Western Hemisphere specialist under contract to the CIA from March 1981 to March 1983. He was one of two officers in the Analytic Group of the CIA's National Intelligence who were permitted to review cable traffic, radio transmission intercepts and other raw intelligence on Central America.

In an interview with *In These Times* on July 3, MacMichael described the new, 35-page administration report as "a very loosely drawn brief" of "circumstantial evidence." "Overall," the former CIA analyst argued, "the report is a backing away from the specificity the administration previously thrust forward—the specificity they can't back up."

According to MacMichael, in the new report the administration "shifts its focus from the idea of a Moscow/Havana/Managua axis.... They're beginning to talk about a region-wide revolutionary ferment of which Nicaragua is a part."

"They devote the largest portion of the paper to citing Nicaraguan arms buildup as a danger to its neighbors, but there's no reference to the many authorities who describe this buildup as entirely defensive in nature," he continued.

"The other thing that strikes you is the very reliance on suspect evidence. Three-fourths of the citations are to newspaper articles."

There are many references in the report to publications of the right-wing American Enterprise Institute, to *Washington Times* articles and to interviews with sources conducted at the Heritage Foundation.

One source central to the report is a former Nicaraguan security official, Miguel Bolanos Hunter. While it refers to Bolanos on nine occasions, it does not mention that, according to intelligence documents issued by the Costa Rican government in August 1983, Bolanos was arrested in Costa Rica after boarding a Nicaraguan airliner in May 1983. Bolan-

os was later released from detention in Costa Rica and provided with a new U.S. passport, according to the Costa Rican intelligence document. He then departed on May 24, 1983, from Costa Rica on a private flight, accompanied by Roy John Mangis, a CIA officer.

Other questionable sources referred to in the report are the now widely discredited documents that were used to support the 1981 "White Paper," a Reagan ad-

that these documents were genuine was that they proved so little.")

**Distortions.**

One major problem with the new report, according to MacMichael, appears in an opening citation of a March 8, 1982, *Washington Post* article by reporter Stephen Rosenfeld. MacMichael said the report distorts the meaning of Rosenfeld's interview with Miguel D'Escoto,



The new report refers to a region-wide revolutionary ferment in Central America.

ministration report that claimed to offer definitive proof that Nicaragua was the main arms supplier to Salvadoran guerrillas. (Speculation that the White Paper documents were concocted and planted either by the CIA, Salvadoran authorities or both, has been alleged by newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* and by two former CIA agents. And after the White Paper's release, a report attributed to El Salvador's *La Prensa* was quoted as saying, "The only thing that ever made me think

Nicaragua's foreign minister. The report says, "D'Escoto admitted to the *Washington Post* that Nicaragua was involved in the arms flow to Salvadoran guerrillas."

But, said MacMichael, "if you read the [Rosenfeld] article, you would find D'Escoto saying the same thing I have been saying: 'If things transit or leave Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan government doesn't authorize them to take part in it.'"

The report is plagued by an array of "internal contradictions," said Mac-

Michael. "Even as they back off on the previous exaggeration of the arms traffic—the report states that it is only sporadic and is now mostly ammunition, medicine and clothing rather than arms and openly states that these things are coming from places other than Nicaragua, from Mexico and Guatemala—even as they say that, they continue to cite and quote from the May 1983 House Intelligence Committee document."

In its opening pages, the report refers to a Committee statement in the 1983 document: "It is not popular support that sustains the insurgency.... This insurgency depends for its very life blood—arms, ammunition, financing, logistics and command-and-control facilities—upon outside assistance from Nicaragua and Cuba." The report continues by saying that "this year [1984] the evidence from intelligence continues to reveal Nicaraguan involvement." Yet, as MacMichael pointed out, "none of the recent evidence is truly specific."

After a careful reading of the new report, *In These Times* found that through-

**Ex-CIA man says  
"loosely drawn  
brief" relies on  
suspect evidence.**

out it two entirely different accounts of arms flow from Nicaragua were offered.

On the one hand, at one point the report says that although the Reagan administration has further evidence of increased arms flow, "we have not chosen to draw extensively on intelligence information in preparing this report because problems of revealing sources and methods prevent us from doing so."

On the other hand, on other pages the report appears to contradict that position

Continued on page 10



By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A** BIG GAP BETWEEN ESTABLISHMENT planning and voters' choices showed up in the June 17 European parliamentary elections. The planners would have liked a large turnout favoring the middle of the road that could be interpreted as a mandate for greater European unity and for the European Community's ventures into joint military production and policy. Instead, turnout was low, and the results were more eccentric than centrist.

These were the elections of Enrico Berlinguer, the German Greens and Jean-Marie Le Pen. The biggest shock was the 11 percent of the French vote won by Le Pen's extreme right-wing National Front. With the governing Socialists (20.8 percent) and Communists (11.2 percent) winning less than a third of the vote between them, France suddenly became the most right-leaning country in Europe, especially since left parties did relatively well everywhere else. For the first time Greens entered the European parliament from West Germany, Belgium and Holland.

Shock and sympathy aroused by the sudden death of Italian Communist Party (PCI) leader Enrico Berlinguer, who suffered a fatal brain hemorrhage while delivering a campaign speech in Padua, may have helped pull the PCI (with 33.3 percent of the vote) slightly ahead of the Christian Democrats (with 33 percent), to become Italy's number one party for the first time. A more paradoxical factor in the Communist victory was that in the most pro-European countries the PCI ran the most pro-European campaign, with leading European federalist Altiero Spinelli as an independent on the PCI list.

The Italian voter turnout of 84 percent was about the highest in Europe. The political disunity of Europe is reflected in the fact that the Italian left favors a unified Europe as ardently as the left in northern Europe opposes the whole idea.

Spinelli was the main author of a draft treaty for a "European Union" adopted by the Europarlament on February 14 that would enable European Community (EC) member states to take European integration a few steps further. Although French Socialists abstained, President Francois Mitterrand gave a surprise endorsement to the Spinelli project, perhaps partly because it covers defense policy and arms cooperation, which the Rome Treaty founding the EC does not. American threats to pull out and leave Europe undefended unless Europeans buy more U.S.-made weaponry ("burden sharing"), as recently dramatized by the Nunn Amendment (a morality play for Europeans staged by Sen. Sam Nunn and the Reagan administration, which pretended to disagree), are putting pressure on European governments to promote a joint European arms industry. (See story on page 12.)

The European unionists' desire to turn this Europarlamentary election into a public campaign for the European Union was thwarted. The British, of course, are incurably hostile even to the degree of integration already achieved, and the unionists speak of a "two speeds" process by which the others could go ahead without Britain. But Europe was hardly an issue at all in the Europarlamentary elections, which everywhere were used as a test of political strength on the national level.

The big PCI vote in Italy was, above all, a defeat for Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, whose Socialist Party (PSI) still garnered its habitual 11 percent, despite all Craxi's machinations. Craxi and Mitterrand seem to have adopted a similar Machiavellian strategy favoring the growth of the far right in order to construct a stable ruling "center." This strategy malfunctioned in two different ways in the European elections.

In Italy, Craxi has been trying to rehabilitate the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) at the same time as he has been trying to push the PCI into a ghetto. The MSI has been granted seats on parliamentary commissions and included in some consultations. The idea is

that if a MSI vote seems "useful" (because the party is able to exercise real influence), its share of the vote will increase at the expense of the Christian Democrats. The PSI could then enjoy a controlling position as the kingpin of a "center" coalition, with MSI and PCI symmetrically excluded. But, so far, the Italian voter pattern has remained remarkably stable. Communist voters have refused to desert the PCI despite heavy attacks intended to make PCI votes "useless" by driving the party out of local coalition governments and destroying any prospect of left coalition in Rome.

In France, Mitterrand is said to calcu-

**Turnout was very low and election results were more eccentric than centrist.**

late that the rise of an extreme right will cut into the right electorate, making it impossible for the traditional right to gain a majority and govern alone. If the right parties of Jacques Chirac, Raymond Barre and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing should accept coalition with the likes of Jean-Marie Le Pen, then the right would supposedly lose such respectable figures as Simon Veil. Thus a center right would break off and accept coalition with a center left, and Mitterrand could create a new governing majority without the Communists. To achieve this, some of the media favorable to the centrist Mitterrand center helped build the party's notoriety.

## IN THE WORLD

### EUROPE



(Above) French President Francois Mitterrand and (below) former Italian Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer, who died last month.

## Europarlamentary election: off center



The only part of the French scheme that seemed to be working in the Europarlament elections was the growth of the extreme right, which surpassed expectations. Eleven percent was a shocking score for a party whose main theme was hostility to North African immigrants, whose leader is a professional brawler accused of torturing Algerians when he was a paratroop officer, and whose record company issued a record of Nazi songs with a laudatory jacket blurb.

True, those past exploits have been forgotten as Le Pen has taken to playing the role of the typical Frenchman, but his success is disturbing. Le Pen did especially well in big cities, both in poorer neighborhoods with large immigrant populations (who don't vote) and in rich, especially new rich, neighborhoods like the Champs-Élysées district in Paris, where he got 19 percent. Le Pen also got more than 20 percent in Marseille and nearly 25 percent in Nice.

The hoped-for center failed to emerge. The biggest flop was a list of candidates launched with great fanfare under the impressive title of "Ecologie" and Entente for the United States of Europe (ERE). Its best-known star was Brice Lalonde, former ecological candidate for the presidency who has converted to a political philosophy that may be described as ego-centrism.

The ERE notables got more than their share of media attention and were understood to be tacitly backed by Mitterrand, reportedly hoping to see the emergence of a strong centrist party that he could bring into his cabinet when he throws the Communists out. But despite all the publicity, ERE got only 3.3 percent, tagging after the 3.4 percent vote for the scraggly *Verts*, French Greens trying to ride into the Europarlament on German Green coattails (and with German and Belgian Green campaign financing), whom the French media almost totally ignored. Thus both ERE and *Verts* fell short of the 5 percent needed to get into the Europarlament.

In his post-election comment, ERE leader Olivier Stirn, a former Giscardian, expressed the centrist perspective, asking: "Will the right accept far-right votes? If so, middle-of-the-road voters will abandon the right. We will be ready to take them in.... A different majority is needed in 1986, a majority that avoids extremes and brings together those who believe in democracy."

The June 17 elections marked the political death of Georges Marchais, who had personally led the French Communist Party (PCF) ticket. He scored scarcely more than half the PCF's total of 20.9 percent in the first Europarlamentary elections in 1979. The PCF does not replace healthy secretary generals, but the party's support is evaporating so fast that the apparatus is feeling desperate.

Marchais will have to be sacrificed for a more credible personality. That's the easy part. The hard part is to change the party policy.

#### Marchais' duplicity

Marchais has lost all credibility by practicing, with great flair, the special kind of duplicity Communist Parties ever since World War II have used to preserve the appeal of revolutionary ideology in the absence of any revolutionary strategy. They accomplished this by accompanying support for quite moderate reformist policies with rhetorical ambiguities, the verbal equivalent of knowing winks to insiders, suggesting that this moderation was only a shrewd temporary tactical ploy on the way to the revolution.

Palmiro Togliatti was the acknowledged master of this art in his day. Berlinguer's accomplishment was to gradually reduce this duplicity and bring Italian Communists face to face with the absence of any revolutionary strategy, while emphasizing the idealistic, ethical roots of the desire for revolution. With its attachment to "rationalism," the PCF has shied away from such an operation. Now it may be too late.

Marchais' emphatic style gave the game away. By supporting Mitterrand's coalition government while suggesting that he opposed what it was doing, Marchais did not hold onto, but rather has been steadily losing, both Communist voters attached to left unity and Communist voters disappointed with the left government. Marchais' ambiguity makes his failure equally ambiguous.

Has the PCF declined because it supported Mitterrand, or because it didn't support him wholeheartedly enough? Who can tell? The party is likely now to be torn apart in the disagreement between Communists who want to cling closer to the Socialists and those who want to go into opposition.

Pierre Juquin, who got the job of acknowledging the PCF's grave defeat, spoke admiringly of the Italian Communist Party as an example to the PCF. But that example is also ambiguous today. French Eurocommunists around former PCF apparachik Henri Fiszbin are advocating unity with the Socialists.

An election list led by Giscard and Giscard  
Continued on page 10



By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

**F**OR THE FIRST TIME IN DECADES, and perhaps for the last time for many years to come, Israel's general election on July 23 will present voters with a choice between two distinct conceptions of their country's future. Yet despite current polls indicating a victory for the opposition Labor Party-led Alignment, the outcome is likely to be less conclusive.

The early election, which will be held a year ahead of schedule, was precipitated by a small party called Tami. It was formed in 1981 as a splinter of the National Religious Party and was the winner of three (out of 120) seats in that year's election. Its leaders, of Middle Eastern and North African background, stretched their power base to include disgruntled politicians from the fringes of secular parties. Together they appealed to what has become Israel's majority ethnic

**tangible** reason was the prison sentence recently completed by Tami head Aharon Abuhatzera for accepting illicit favors and embezzling money from a charitable fund he once headed. The main factor, however, was a desire to corner the ethnic vote before either Labor or Likud leaders could make a stab for it by advancing Sephardic candidates of their own.

Labor's Shimon Peres is a relatively colorless, unexciting candidate who took over the party leadership from arch-rival Yitzhak Rabin on the eve of the 1977 elections, when a scandal broke about Rabin's illegal bank account in the U.S. There is little recognizable political difference between them, but before the 1981 vote, Rabin challenged Peres for the top spot, and lost a bitter fight. The party was understandably eager to avoid another such contest, especially with so little time before the campaign began in earnest. In the end, neither Rabin nor former President Yitzhak Navon opted to challenge Peres.

Navon, a Sephardi, agreed to play an active role behind Peres in exchange for a promise that he will be appointed foreign minister if Labor wins.

The situation in the Likud coalition was strikingly parallel. After Navon's pass, intense pressure was placed on potential Likud challenger David Levy to follow suit, so neither party would face a destructive fight with so little time remaining. Like Peres, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is gray and uninspiring, while Levy perfectly represents the dominant Herut Party's mass base: Moroccan-born, he began as a construction worker in an outlying town and moved up quickly in politics, both in spite and because of his background. But by now accepting second place, Levy is well-positioned to eventually succeed the much older Shamir, whatever the outcome of this summer's voting.

Only former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, with little to lose, challenged Shamir, and his well-organized faction won him a surprisingly large vote, but not enough, in the end, to either take over the party or even make a serious run on the number two spot.

Once early elections became inevitable, the government could probably have used a parliamentary stall to hold out for a November date, which would have given it more time to repair its standing in the polls. But Shamir proved willing to forego the opportunity, agreeing instead on the July date to forestall both Levy and Navon. Labor would have preferred May, before many of its middle-class backers left the country for summer vacations. Tami, on the other hand, was pleased, both by the date and by the identity of the two large blocs' leaders. It turned out that the election move was perfectly timed, and Tami might well maintain or even gain strength, unusual for a new party in its second election run.

#### Labor's strength.

Most voters, however, will still choose either Peres or Shamir. With both sides lacking in charisma, the campaign will be more issue-oriented than past ones, which were dominated by such personalities as Golda Meir and Begin.

Although, if elected, Labor likely will not be able to fulfill all the expectations of its dovish backers, the strong showing it is expected to make at the polls would indicate support for its policy positions that differ strongly from those of the Likud.

For example, Labor stands to gain from its harsh criticism of the unpopular war in Lebanon. Though party leaders supported the invasion's official goal at the start—"securing Galilee"—through the conquest of a 25-mile belt—and also failed to oppose the war's much broader goals in the summer of 1982 when it appeared to be succeeding, most of them have since followed public opinion in calling for speedy if not immediate withdrawal.

The disastrous situation certainly led the government to seek a dramatic change before election day to create the impression that there is, indeed, light at the end of the tunnel. But full withdrawal by then would have been difficult, both

for logistic reasons and because it would have been seen as an admission of failure. But a well-orchestrated "redeployment" at the last minute could still conceivably steal some of Labor's thunder.

The emotion-clad prisoner exchange on June 28 will not hurt the Likud campaign either. It would seem to make another option—renewed warfare with Syria—unlikely in the near future, even if electoral prospects appear desperate. But anything is still possible: only a week before the exchange, there was a local flare-up. And the June 29 seizure of a passenger ship on the Mediterranean was provocative enough to make Israeli doves recall the 1981 campaign, when a "Syrian missile crisis" and a bombing raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor gave the Likud a considerable boost in overcoming Labor's early lead in the polls.

Israel's difficult economic situation looks like a Labor plus in this campaign, but the issue is not as clear as it might appear. On the one hand, the Likud could not get away with the blatant giveaway

cials, though suffering dissension over the question of "election economics" versus holding tight on austerity, seem to be succeeding in putting the Labor-controlled Histadrut workers organization on the defensive by accusing it of stirring up labor disputes for political purposes.

The remaining major issue is the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the settlements mushrooming in them. For once, the difference between the two major parties seems relatively clearcut, and little is likely to change by election day.

By now, five and a half years after Camp David, the Likud's stand is clear: all previous talk of "autonomy" for Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has given way to policy aimed inescapably at annexation. No longer is anyone fooled into believing that Likud has any chance of improving the soured relations with Egypt, let alone begin any dialogue with Jordan or the Palestinians.

About the only thing the government can say in defense of its policy in the territories is that political pressure from the

## ISRAEL

# Voters face clear choice at the polls



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the ruling Likud Party

program it used in the 1981 campaign. A repeat, following the last year of austerity and doomsaying, would have been too transparently political. But the government has in the last several weeks become considerably less tightfisted, and even though Labor has now been out of power for seven years, six of which were very lean, the working class, Sephardic public still bears considerable ill will toward its establishment, elitist image. Nor has Labor come forth with a comprehensive alternative to the Likud's mixture of pro-capitalist ideology and disastrous management that has served speculators, bankers and importers much more than the "productive businesses" which the regime claims to favor.

By early July, the economy loomed heavier than ever as a campaign issue: national wage negotiations for wage increases to make up for what triple-digit inflation has eroded have ended in a bad compromise; a wave of strikes have only partially subsided; Finance Ministry offi-

U.S. to change its settlement course has lessened. Though there is an uneasy feeling that in the long run such concord with Washington is unlikely to last, for now Labor's oft-repeated argument that a more "moderate" course is needed to maintain close ties with the U.S. falls rather flat.

But other, more substantive assertions are beginning to have a wider impact. Peres regularly stresses his fundamental belief that full annexation would allow Israel to remain either a Jewish state or a democratic one, but not both. The claim that "settlements are built at the expense of development and services in Israel proper" is accepted as common knowledge by many traditional Likud voters. And the ever more transparent use of repression on the West Bank, combined with the abject failure of military force to destroy the Palestinian movement, has forced many Israelis to reconsider previously discarded ideas. Finally, the disclosure, at

Continued on page 11

group: the broadly defined "Orientals," or Sephardim.

Tami had the most success in 1981 among this group's middle classes, who to some extent have made it in the Ashkenazi (European Jewish)-dominated establishment. The mostly young, working-class, urban slum dwellers and residents of depressed "development towns" continued—as they had for more than a decade before—to support the Likud, then still under the leadership of Menachem Begin.

A participant in the Likud-led ruling coalition for the last three years, Tami did not take clear positions on many issues. It did resist the attempt to impose a severe austerity program during the past year, which it argued would primarily harm the low-income sectors it claims to represent. Real incomes have dropped considerably in the past nine months, between 10 and 25 percent (the calculation is difficult, because inflation has been running at approximately a 400 percent annual rate). And the poor, as usual, have been hit hardest by even faster basic food price hikes and by the inevitable wage lag. But last fall, threatening to bring down the government, Tami prevented even more draconian measures and won greater benefits for large families. These were dramatic public relations successes.

When Tami finally introduced its bill in March to dissolve the Knesset—passed with the support of the parliamentary opposition and two other disgruntled coalition members of parliament who had already burned their bridges to the Likud—it was not over any specific additional assault on the incomes of its constituency. The threat certainly existed, but a more



# Jackson

Continued from page 3

son's whites tended to be well-educated, somewhat above average income and liberal, and he also had most appeal among younger voters, who have not been attracted to Mondale.

There is more substance and diversity to Jackson's Rainbow than most political observers suggest. After all, he received more white votes than many of the one-time white candidates. His failures to do better were magnified by his striking success among blacks and exacerbated by white resistance to voting for a black candidate, even if his message appealed. (Similarly he was faulted for not transforming Central America politics in one visit, when his achievement was showing the value of negotiation and first-hand knowledge of other parts of the world as

well as presenting an alternative vision of Third World liberation movements.)

There is also less to the Rainbow as it now exists than its supporters imagine, partly because of racial divisions and ideological splits among potential Democratic voters, partly because of shortcomings of the Jackson campaign. Therein lies a challenge for Mr. Mondale. ■

## S-M bill

Continued from page 6

ino, an attorney who has been monitoring the issue, the program is "a Catch-22." It asks aliens who have spent years hiding their presence to prove how long they have been in the U.S., he said.

The U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC), the largest and oldest voluntary agency in the field, is sketching plans for carrying out the legalization or amnesty program,

according to James Michael Hoffman, USCC assistant director for immigration. But it's not easy. "Aliens will first have to pass 27 tests of eligibility, such as not having a criminal record, health requirements, not being a Communist and so on. Then they'll have to show they've been here the requisite time," Hoffman said.

At the Lutheran Immigration Relief Services, the second largest agency, Zdenka Seiner indicated that several agencies have been reviewing draft contracts to screen legalization applicants for the INS since early 1983, when passage began to appear likely. "But I don't know of anyone who is yet ready to sign," she said.

Cecilio J. Morales Jr. is assistant editor of the Washington Report on the Hemisphere.

## Report

Continued from page 7

ing, "Except for special periods when new guerrilla units were being equipped or immediately before a major offensive, the flow [of arms traffic] has been sporadic."

As recently as June 27, administration pointman on Central America, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Fred C. Ikle, acknowledged that some guerrilla units get half of their weapons and heavy equipment by stealing or capturing U.S.-made arms from the Salvadoran Army. Yet other public statements by Ikle reiterate the new report's positions. He recent-

ly claimed that ammunition continues to be smuggled into the country by canoes, which are allegedly used to land on the coast aboard a Nicaraguan motor launch. A ship that administration officials admit has never been sighted.

According to MacMichael, the only solid conclusion one can draw from the new report is that the administration has very little evidence of recent arms shipments. "You know what the Nicaraguans would say? They would shrug their shoulders and say, 'If you throw enough mud, maybe some of it will stick.'"

Joy Hackel works for Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA) at the Institute for Policy Studies.

## Elections

Continued from page 8

Depaquit of the decomposing Unified Socialist Party (PSU) did miserably with 0.7 percent, showing no popular enthusiasm for the Eurocommunist line. Hard-line Trotskyist Arlette Laguiller did better (2 percent) with an anti-government, "They've-sold-out-the-worker-as-usual" line.

How can the Italian example help the PCF out of its dilemma? The current PCI line is indeed left unity with the Socialists. But in the months before his death, Berlinguer was involved in increasingly bitter polemics with Craxi, who accused him of extremism for opposing the government's austerity policies.

The rise of the right in France may be a good argument for the left parties to close ranks. But there is Mitterrand's ambiguity to contend with. Having abandoned Common Program policies that Socialists and Communists agreed on in the '70s, will Mitterrand keep moving toward a center that does not yet exist, or turn back to the PCF when it is down to 11 percent? The Socialist Party's 20.9 percent is a narrow power base compared to the 37.5 percent it got after Mitterrand's election in 1981.

The day after the European parliamentary elections, posters appeared on walls in France proclaiming: "La Resistance commence!" The first act of the "resistance" to "social-communist Marxist destruction of liberties" was the June 24 demonstration on behalf of private schools, "free schools" to their right-wing supporters. It was the biggest demonstration in Paris since May 1968, with crowds estimated at more than a million.

Since the main issue was the left government's proposal to allow private-school teachers, if they choose, to enjoy the tenure benefits of public-school teachers (thus gaining more classroom freedom), the motives of the demonstrators can be assumed to be more generally political. The right feels the left weakening and is preparing to go in for the kill. The right's big leaders, from Simone Veil to Jean-Marie Le Pen, all turned out.

In the rest of Europe, left parties did well. In Greece, PASOK held its own with 40 percent against the opposition New Democracy, which did worse than expected with 31 percent. Greek pro-Soviet Communists got 13 percent and anti-Soviet Communists got 5.3 percent. In Belgium, the Socialists came in first for the first time since 1936, with 30 percent. The single candidate who did best was Flemish Socialist leader Karel van Miert, known as a leading opponent of cruise missile deployment. In Britain, where less than a third voted, Labour did better than expected with more than 36 percent, narrowing the ruling Conservative's total to 41.3 percent. Inasmuch as Britain, unlike all the other EC countries, does not use proportional representation, the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance got no seats for their 19 percent of the vote.

German participation dropped to less than 57 percent, compared to more than 65 percent in 1979, showing flagging interest in the European Community. If anyone can live up to the Europeanism, it should be the German Greens, who will go in for the first time with seven seats and 8.2 percent of the vote. ■



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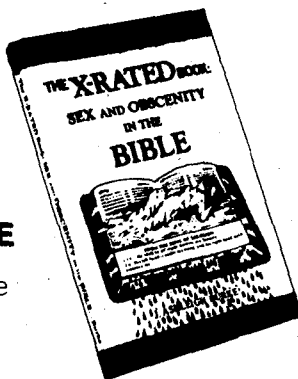
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# Israel

Continued from page 9

long last, of a Jewish terrorist group among the settlers' leadership will likely alienate some previously undecided voters from the government parties identified with that movement, although a backlash will probably benefit the extreme right as well.

Identical questions in opinion polls over the last two years have shown an ever-increasing minority in favor of giving up all or almost all of the territories in exchange for peace and, to a lesser extent, for accepting Palestinian independence. Larger majorities have emerged favoring giving up some territory and cutting back on settlements before slashing other budgets. The trend is compatible with Labor positions, and directly contradicts Likud ones.

Labor's platform this time is actually more hawkish than in 1981. Paradoxically, however, it has dropped reference to the possibility of territorial concessions on the Syrian Golan Heights, for instance, and disingenuously promises not to dismantle any settlements on the West Bank, suggesting instead that some settlers could live under Jordanian rule.

The hawkish rhetoric can be attributed to Labor's conscious targetting of disenchanted Likud voters, who would be put off by too dovish a line. But the party's differing conceptions are well enough known that Labor's much enhanced legitimacy in Likud strongholds this year—even if the main reason for the change is economic—can be seen as a sign that the populace is no longer sold on Likud's hard line.

## Thanks to the left.

To a large extent, Labor has groups to its left to thank for constantly and much more consistently harping against the Likud policies. Before 1977, that same

left was challenging the "creeping annexationism" of Labor itself, which helped legitimate the right and set the stage for its takeover. Today, if all those who accept Palestinian self-determination and prefer immediate withdrawal from Lebanon were to vote for a single party in line with these views, it would probably win 10 or 15 seats, as opposed to the five or six members of parliament who hold such views today.

But electoral unity on the left is less possible than ever this year. Backers of the left-Zionist Sheli Party, which won two seats in 1977 and barely missed the 1 percent cutoff in 1981, have headed in many directions. One part, a social-democratic faction that tries not to stray too far from what is known as Israel's "national consensus," has joined forces with a small, breakaway group of dovish ex-Laborites, headed by Shulamit Aloni, the list's sole incumbent. Others are backing Arye Eliav, a veteran who is trying to get elected without party backing. Once Labor's secretary-general, he left the party to head Sheli in 1977, and recently tried to rejoin Labor, but was rebuffed.

A third section of ex-Sheli people last year formed an alternative, more radical than the others in terms of the support for Palestinian self-determination but consciously "anti-ideological" on other questions. It recently allied with a rather motley collection of Arab groupings to form the Progressive List for Peace.

There were some attempts before the May 31 filing deadline to unite some of the Progressive List components with the non-Zionist Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), which formed in 1977 around the Communist Party (CP) and today holds four seats in parliament. Both sides agree on what they see as the cardinal questions facing the Israeli people: the need to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in a state alongside Israel, to end the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization and to get out of Lebanon unconditionally. But agreement on a merger

proved impossible, due to differences over their leaders' placement on the mooted joint candidates' list.

The DFPE, therefore, remains dominated by the CP as in past elections; those who hoped to see it become a vehicle for the growth of an independent Jewish left have become steadily more disappointed.

The larger, more mainstream-dovish movement Peace Now again decided this year not to run its own slate, since its leaders are both candidates and constituents in several parties. One prominent Peace Now figure is number two on Aloni's slate, while others are supporting Eliav. But many moderate doves, both Jewish and Arab, are likely to hold their noses and vote for the Labor Alignment, as they did in 1981. Tactically, this makes some sense because votes going to a party that receives less than 1 percent are wasted in the proportional allocation of seats.

Some relatively radical voters will also back Labor out of the popular misconception that if it wins more seats than the Likud, it will be called upon to form the next government. (Last time, the Labor Alignment won 47 to the Likud's 48). But Labor could easily come out ahead of its main rival this time and still lose, if its gains are again only at the expense of potential coalition partners. The more extreme right and religious parties in the current coalition, unlikely to switch allegiances, won 15 seats in 1981, while small parties close to Labor and the far left together won only seven.

A similar phenomenon could also occur on the far right and in the religious camp, both of which are unusually divid-

ed by bitter factional fights and tactical disagreements. Thus the Likud, while it may lose some strength to Labor, is likely to gain at its partners' expense, and may still remain the largest party.

In the center are Tami and Ezer Weizman's new list of ex-generals and rich industrialists, markedly more dovish than the Likud but too technocratically pro-capitalist for even the mildly social-democratic Labor. Both of these—and possibly another centrist party or two—will likely be hurt by the current trend toward backing one of the two major blocs. But Tami and Weizman will be actually counting less on their own success in pulling votes than on an even balance to their right and left, which would enable them to wield considerable power as fulcrums willing to bargain with either side.

A third possibility would be a center coalition formed around someone like Weizman, should his slate do surprisingly well. It could include Labor's right wing, together with members of the Liberal Party, the junior partner in the Likud conglomerate. Many Liberal MPs are much more pragmatic than the hard-line Shamir and others from the Herut branch.

Even David Levy, not really at ease with the Herut ideologues, or Yitzhak Navon, could ride their popularity to central positions in such a realignment. This seems unlikely, however, due to loyalty to existing party frameworks. Yet the Israeli political map lacks clear boundaries, and one positive side-effect of a centrist coalescence could be the renewal of a more crystallized left. ■



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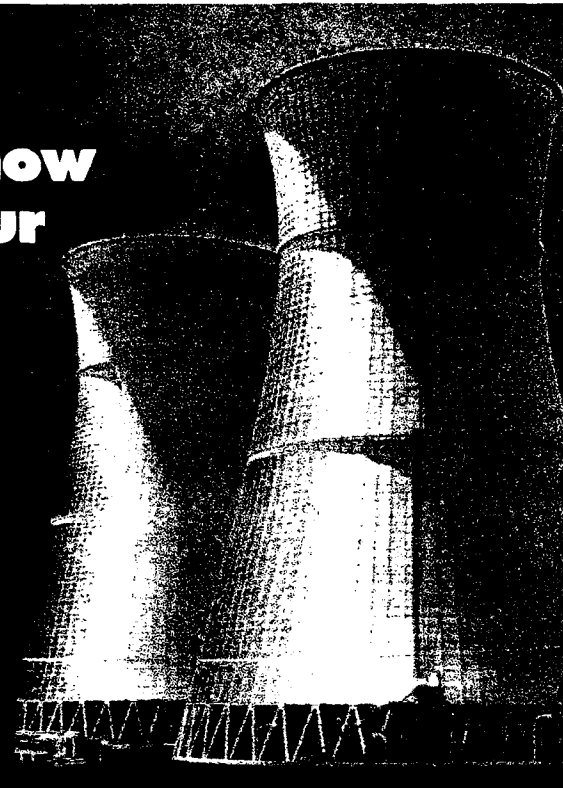
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**DEADLY****By Diana Johnstone**

On June 2 some 500 people attended a *Deadly Connection* conference in St. Paul, Minn., sponsored by more than 40 peace and justice organizations of the Minneapolis area and initiated by Women Against Military Madness. A nationwide series of *Deadly Connection* conferences is planned for this summer and fall. The following is a version of a speech given by *IN THESE TIMES*' European Editor Diana Johnstone at the conference.

**A**LL OVER THE WORLD, AMERICAN power as wielded by the Reagan administration is being used to strengthen not just the rich against the poor, but the worst against the best. American power under Reagan unflinchingly favors the corrupt against the honest, the flatterers against the truthful, mafia gangsters against social workers, armies against schools, people who are selfishly out to get wealth and power against people

who are concerned about others and about the future. And this is happening everywhere—in the Third World most flagrantly, but also in Europe, which is a key factor in the global strategy of the Reagan administration.

A major aim of current policy is to get the Western European countries to support—directly and indirectly—American intervention in the Third World. To this end, a whole range of means are being employed, including deployment of the so-called Euromissiles.

One manifestation of current policy is a widespread feeling among Americans that “they”—foreigners, Europeans—are “against us,” a sort of national paranoia that has grown in the U.S. in recent years, especially since the Iranian hostage crisis. European leaders are particularly aware of this feeling and are frightened of it. It explains why most of them have supported the Euromissile deployment against the overwhelming ma-

jority of public opinion in their own countries. They are more afraid of hostile American public opinion than of public opinion in their own countries. They are aware that anti-European feelings can be whipped up, as they can be turned on and off, by the American power establishment through the mass media, and that these feelings could be used to retaliate against European countries through such measures as import restrictions.

The Reagan administration and its friends in the media have greatly fed and exploited these fears by stating time and again that unless Europeans behave, Americans are likely to get fed up and abandon Europe altogether—maybe even let the Russians have it. European leaders are intimidated by these threats to sic American public opinion on them—but ordinary Europeans are more frightened by the dangers of being drawn into nuclear war.

So despite all the protests of massive

popular peace movements, the missile deployment is going ahead. American power and influence are so great that three-and-a-half years of Reagan administration have reinforced right-wing and militarist tendencies in Europe—although this works differently in each of the European nations, which are much more dissimilar than they may seem from a distance.

But they all have one thing in common: mass media that, as in the U.S., sometimes deliberately and sometimes inadvertently manipulate public opinion by their selection of what is supposed to be important, giving priority to official versions—especially American official versions. Thus one of the founding myths of the current confusion on both sides of the Atlantic is that the Pershing II and cruise missiles are something that the European allies in general, and particularly former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, “asked for.” Some liberal



# MY CONNECTIONS:

## ING AND

American members of Congress say they are for the Euromissiles because "Europe asked for them" and they don't want to let down our NATO allies. I say "myth" rather than falsehood because this notion is not entirely untrue. There is a grain of truth in it—but only a grain.

According to the myth, Helmut Schmidt alerted the West to the threat of Soviet SS20 nuclear missiles aimed at Western Europe in a speech to the London International Institute of Strategic Studies in October 1977—and NATO responded by deciding, at a ministers meeting in Brussels on Dec. 12, 1979, to deploy 572 new nuclear missiles in Europe.

This is fundamentally inaccurate. The Euromissile deployment was essentially the product of a long and somewhat involved Pentagon planning process. But let's just take the matter of Schmidt's London speech: there was no mention of Soviet SS20s—none at all. Most of the speech was a plea to the U.S. government to remember that "security" is not just a matter of weapons and military power but also has other important dimensions such as economic development, full employment and Third World growth.

Regarding weapons, Schmidt's point was that the efforts then being made at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—SALT—to stabilize strategic nuclear parity between the U.S. and the USSR should be matched by comparable efforts to achieve a balance in conventional armaments. He especially wanted to see progress in the negotiations on mutual balanced force reductions in Europe.

At that time, Schmidt was considered the West's leading statesman. Perhaps encouraged by this reputation, he dared to voice, or at least to hint at, some of the misgivings of European leaders over the SALT talks, their worry that in this *tete-a-tete* between the two superpowers, the superpower that was supposed to be their protector might forget to look out for specifically European interests. While limiting intercontinental weapons, they might forget about all the weapons piling up in Europe.

### High cost of independence.

In retrospect, Schmidt paid a heavy price for daring to give advice to the U.S. His plea for including Europe in arms limitation and reductions has been cited as the origin of the major arms buildup that NATO decided in December 1979. American opponents of the whole SALT process picked up and used his criticism of SALT for not going far enough. This may be considered ironic—or it may have put the West German leader in his place.

In any case, it was not Schmidt, much less "Europe" or "the Europeans," who wanted American missiles in Europe—it was that network of Pentagon officials and arms producers and their political friends known as the U.S. military-industrial complex.

At least, the first motivation behind the Euromissiles seems to have been a military-industrial one. Pentagon planners wanted to use a new generation of weapons with new technology, new capabilities. The cruise missile lobby played a major role. It essentially killed SALT II—because SALT II endangered cruise missile development—and instigated the NATO missile deployment. I believe the power of this lobby lies in the fact that the cruise missile's complex guidance systems use a combination of the most advanced technologies, and cruise missile contracts thus subsidize research and

development in these fields—space, electronic guidance and so forth—that political and business leaders see as the key to the nation's future supremacy. Europe is thus of great importance to the cruise missile lobby.

In June 1979, Republican Sen. John Tower of Texas opened the hearings that were to prove fatal to the ratification of SALT II with this question, which he called fundamental: "Does the treaty allow the U.S. sufficient latitude to make timely transfer of cruise missile technology to our NATO allies?" In other words, can we sell this technology to our NATO allies?

It is worthwhile to reflect on the significance of that question. Since NATO was established 35 years ago, the European allies have provided the best and steadiest foreign markets for American arms. Foreign arms sales are indispensable to the growth of a huge domestic war machine. The same can be said for the Russians or for a second-rank military-industrial power like France. Arms exports are necessary to bring down unit costs and to offset the cost of keeping the national armed forces equipped with sophisticated weaponry.

New technology opens a new phase of marketing possibilities. Champions of the military-industrial complex like Sen. Tower understandably wanted to be sure that the new wave of cruise missile technology—not just the missiles, but the component technologies—could be sold to America's most reliable customers, the NATO allies.

The cruise missile lobby perceived SALT II in particular and arms control in general as a threat. The new miniaturized cruise missile seems uncontrollable. It is small enough to be hidden, and even if you see it, you can't tell whether it carries nuclear warheads or something else. So the cruise missile lobby believed that the U.S. would have to choose between arms control and cruise missiles, and if so, arms control would have to go. But instead of saying this aloud to the general public, they attacked arms control as favorable to the Russians or accused the Russians of cheating.

The cruise missile champions were anxious to present arms control with a *fait accompli* by deploying the missiles fast. The so-called "European theater" was the most conspicuous use imaginable. An important 1981 Library of Congress study of NATO "modernization" concluded: "Cruise missile application in the theater nuclear role provided the most politically visible and immediately justifiable rationale for their exclusion from negotiating constraints and became the means for safeguarding the technology for future application."

### Grain of truth.

Now, the grain of truth in the myth that "Europe asked for the Euromissiles" is that the cruise missile lobby had succeeded in setting up a European branch inside the European NATO defense community, among those officers and officials—notably the crucial second echelon of deputy defense ministers—who haunt elite think tanks like the London Strategic Studies Institute or Alfred Wohlstetter's workshop.

The American cruise lobby managed to finesse these European defense specialists against American arms control advocates like Paul Warnke by playing on European suspicions that the U.S. was neglecting European interests as it dealt with

the Russians over Europeans' heads. The suspicion was planted that the Carter administration was selfishly depriving European allies of the new wonder weapons in its eagerness to reach agreement with the Russians. Another irony is that European defense specialists were interested in the cruise because it could carry conventional warheads and thus contribute to nuclear disarmament.

Such European defense specialists manned the NATO committees that approved Pentagon missile deployment plans and recommended to the NATO ministers in Brussels in December 1979. They decided that the U.S. Air Force would station 464 Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles in Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands. In addition, the U.S. Army was to station 108 Pershing II ballistic missiles in West Germany.

As the modernization decision approached, and before the public knew much about it, opposition began to develop. Holland, Belgium and West Germany were governed by Social Democratic parties committed to nuclear disarmament, and here they were being asked to take a step that marked a serious escalation: for the first time, nuclear missiles on their soil would be able to strike targets in the Soviet Union.

So a sales campaign was designed around two themes. One was the SS20 threat. The other was the old "bargaining chip" notion, the idea that new missiles were necessary "to get the Russians to negotiate." And then it was said that it was all Schmidt's idea, that Schmidt had "asked for" the missiles.

Schmidt himself found this out in January 1979 from Carter at a summit meeting in Guadeloupe. The human factor in all this is that Schmidt and Carter did not get along. Schmidt thought Carter was a hypocrite. In retrospect, it seems that the cruise missile lobby exploited this animosity, playing the two men off against each other. Schmidt had complained that Carter did not know how to provide leadership for Europe. So in Guadeloupe he got a dose of strong leadership.

Carter announced that he had a solution to European worries that the U.S. was no longer protecting Western Europe with its "strategic umbrella": the U.S. would station nuclear missiles in Europe. President Carter secretly obtained a general agreement from British Prime Minister James Callaghan, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Schmidt,

although it's not clear quite what they thought they had approved. It was spelled out by Pentagon experts for the NATO ministers meeting 11 months later. That made it official.

I have referred to the industrial motives, which seem to have come first. They were joined somewhere along the way by political and strategic motives that are, if anything, even worse.

### Other reasons.

The Iranian revolution of 1979 was a watershed in American foreign policy. The fall of the Shah marked the defeat of the Nixon-Kissinger policy of building up secondary regional powers to help protect U.S. interests. The Islamic revolution illustrated the cultural fragility of forced modernization policies such as the Shah's, in non-European societies.

One conclusion that the American policy-making elite has apparently drawn is that instead of trying to build up new regional powers, the U.S. must enlist its European allies—and Japan—in policing the world. The global task of U.S. military force since World War II has been to keep as much of the world as possible open to international free trade and investment. At first, this was virtually synonymous with American exports and investment. At the end of World War II, the U.S. inherited the bulk of world trade, while its British, French and Dutch allies were burdened with colonial wars and rebellions.

By the '70s, American policy makers observed that the situation had reversed. The U.S. was facing Third World wars and rebellions, while its principal allies, notably West Germany and Japan, enjoyed a growing share of world trade. The Americans demanded greater "burden sharing" by its European allies, pressuring Europe to pay both the economic and political price for global protection of the capitalist system, which promises to increase as bankruptcies mark the failure of the '70s' oil-profit-recycling development strategy.

The Iranian fiasco showed secondary Third World powers' inability to police the outer reaches of empire. Europeans, with their centuries of experience, must go back on the job. American neo-conservatives regret what they consider the U.S.' great mistake in 1956, when Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles refused to support the joint Franco-British expedition to seize the Suez Canal after Egypt announced its nationalization. The strategists who Reagan has brought to power favor the revival of a joint imperial condominium of all the major industrial powers—under American hegemony, of course.

And they have had some success. This was the meaning of the surprise declaration at the Williamsburg summit of rich countries on May 29, 1983: "The security of our countries is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis." This brought Japan into a concept of "global security." The U.S. succeeded in involving its NATO allies France and Italy in the Lebanon international force and has successfully prodded France, left government and all, to resume its colonial intervention in the African state of Chad.

Under heavy American pressure, NATO ministers' meetings have accepted the notion that the allies should get support when they take action to protect the "vital interests" of the West. Thus NATO, originally a mutual defense alli-

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A major aim of U.S. policy is to get Europe to support American Third World intervention.





Continued from preceding page

ance to guarantee the territory of member states, is gradually extending into a worldwide alliance dedicated to defending the "vital interests of the West"—a hazy concept indeed.

From the outset, this project faced serious political obstacles in Europe. Colonialism and imperialist interventions were thoroughly discredited in European public opinion. Europeans saw no need for military policing of the world. And indeed, there is no need, at least not in the terms American apologists use.

The American neo-imperialists speak of the need to protect access to "our" vital resources—meaning resources belonging to other countries. But in fact, this access has never been seriously threatened. Revolutionary Cuba never refused to sell its sugar, socialist Vietnam invited Western oil companies to come and prospect, and even Khomeini's Iran has been ready to sell its oil to whoever wants to buy it. But the American government stopped these initiatives.

Underdeveloped countries are more than willing to sell whatever resources they have. There is no need for global military power to protect "free trade"—on the contrary, what U.S. global military power is out to protect is the ability of American multinationals to set the terms of trade in their own favor. Unfree trade, you might say.

For all the talk of "Arab oil," American oil companies control most of the petroleum from the Arab states of the Gulf the oil supplies on which Europe and Japan depend. This provides a leverage over the U.S.' main commercial competitors that the American business elite does not want to relinquish. All "threats," real or imagined, to the oil supplies of Japan and Western Europe may increase American influence by increasing those countries' dependence on eventual American protection.

This explains why a top policymaker like Paul Nitze was alarmed in 1980 by an offer from Brezhnev for an international treaty among all Gulf oil-producing and consuming countries guaranteeing free access. Such an arrangement could make Europe and Japan independent of their American protectors. Nitze warned that European countries might find Soviet offers appealing.

Euromissile deployment has forced European countries—and especially West Germany—into the policy line that the Carter administration began and Reagan escalated.

When Schmidt went back to Bonn from Guadeloupe in January 1979 with the news that Carter was planning to deploy nuclear missiles in West Germany that could hit the USSR, the leaders of his own Social Democratic Party (SPD) were aghast. Some of them at least grasped the political significance of all this: the Euromissile policy attacked the whole policy of detente, the Eastern European policy (*Ostpolitik*) that Willy Brandt advanced when he was chancellor in the early '70s. Schmidt obtained the support of his own party only by insisting that he could handle the Americans and could use the planned deployment to further arms control and even disarmament.

#### German dependency.

In any case, could West Germany have said no to the missiles? It is generally forgotten that the victors in World War II have never made a peace treaty with Germany and that West Germany is still an occupied country without full sovereignty. Legally, West Germany is bound by treaty "to contribute to achieving the common goals of the Free World"—bound in effect to NATO. The U.S., Britain and France retain their right to station armed forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, which means the weapons to go with them. Over the years, West German governments have pressed for the right merely to know what weapons the U.S. was stationing in their country and then, if possible, to have a say in the matter.

In fact, even the Germans have forgotten the limits on their sovereignty. The consensus in West Germany on NATO and the "Free World" was so great for so

long that nobody thought about the right to choose some other policy. For reasons of political morale and their own prestige, German leaders have acted as if they were decisionmakers of a fully sovereign nation. In the '70s there was talk that West Germany was an "economic giant and political dwarf" that was growing up politically. The Euromissiles decision was a way of cutting West Germany back down to size politically.

Why would American leaders want to do this? Willy Brandt did not, after all, launch his *Ostpolitik* against the U.S., or even independently of it—detente was the policy of the whole West. But in Germany it had special meaning and consequences.

The reasons showed up in the Berlin crisis of 1961, when Willy Brandt was mayor of West Berlin. Khrushchev had been trying to prod the Western allies into negotiating a stable German settlement. At that time, Chancellor Adenauer and the U.S. refused negotiations that might recognize East Germany. Adenauer's government refused to recognize the border the Soviet Union had established between East Germany and Poland and continued to demand the return of territory given to Poland. The Kennedy administration interpreted Khrushchev's demands as a "test of strength" and worked up nuclear war scenarios to defend Western allied occupation rights in Berlin.

But when the Wall went up around West Berlin in August 1961, the Americans seemed unprepared and scarcely interested. After all, Allied occupation rights were ultimately preserved. To this day, many Europeans are convinced that there was a secret agreement between the Russians and the Americans about the Wall. In their memoirs, Kennedy's associates celebrate the Berlin crisis as a victory for Western "resolve."

But Berliners were stuck with the Wall. To Willy Brandt, the Wall was a demonstration of the futility of power politics. All America's atom bombs and tough words were useless. *Ostpolitik* was the attempt to try honey instead of vinegar, to negotiate on the basis of mutual interests. It has achieved a great deal in human terms. Millions of Germans have been able to visit their relatives. Human, cultural and economic contacts have developed.

#### Impact on liberation movements.

The political effects were felt more in Eastern than in Western Europe. Brandt recognized the boundaries of Poland. This was a big step toward destroying the credibility of the Soviet claim to protect the Eastern states, Poland especially, from aggressive German claims to pre-war boundaries. Many people credit Brandt's *Ostpolitik* for opening Poland to the democratization movement that led to Solidarity.

Brandt's policy had both an East-West and a North-South dimension, which he pursued after leaving government as president of a revived Socialist International. Encouragement of East-West detente and disarmament has gone along with advocacy of more equalizing North-South economic relations and support for reform and liberation movements to offer them some alternative besides the Soviet bloc. The Reagan administration and its ideologues have led an all-out international offensive against both the North-South and East-West dimensions of Brandt's Socialist International policies. The Euromissiles have been instrumental in this political offensive, reviving Cold War tensions in Europe.

The political assault on detente and German *Ostpolitik* is part of Reagan administration changes in military strategy. Those who remember the history of Central and Eastern Europe know that nothing could be better designed to destroy detente and arouse hostile suspicion between Germany and Russia than to station the world's most accurate nuclear missile on West German soil. This was done when the Pershing II missile—the first of a new generation of ballistic missiles whose speed and accuracy classify them not as deterrence but as first-strike weapons—was stationed in West Ger-

many, and only in West Germany. The Pershing II can be equipped with an earth-penetrator warhead to zero in on command bunkers underground. It is thus a "decapitation" weapon that could lop off Soviet command and control centers at the start of a conflict.

One of the first people in West Germany to call attention to the dangers of this new weapon was NATO Major Gen. Gert Bastian, commander of the 12th tank division, who sent a memorandum to Bonn Defense Minister Hans Apel warning that the new missiles threatened to undo—not strengthen—deterrence based on nuclear balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Gen. Bastian said that "such a conspicuous nuclear force" on German soil, able to cause strategically significant damage to the USSR within minutes, raised the question, in a situation where war seemed imminent, of whether the Soviet Union might not feel "flatly obliged to get rid of this new risk through a nuclear preventive strike."

In other words, suppose that somewhere in the world—say the Persian Gulf—a series of events bring Soviet and American forces close together, or Soviet and American-backed forces close to military confrontation. Suppose nuclear war seems imminent. The Russians might fear an American first strike and might decide to take out the most dangerous first-strike element, the Pershing II. By doing so, they would also "take out" West Germany.

This situation, created by the Pershing II, has led a growing number of West Germans to ask—for the first time since NATO was founded—whether their interests were identical with those of the U.S. They have been forced to answer "no." From the viewpoint of American strategists, this risk to the German people is precisely the great political-strategic advantage of the Pershing II deployment.

Remember how densely populated West Germany is. It's as if you crammed a quarter of the population of the U.S. into Minnesota and northern Iowa. The U.S. Pershing II base in Schwabisch Gmund is just across a playing field from the suburban school.

In a crisis, the Soviets might not hesitate to attack American first-strike missiles on submarines, but to strike Pershing II bases in West Germany would be to commit a massive atrocity that would set the whole world against them. It would be the Korean airliner disaster on a gigantic scale. This is the strategic cleverness—from the Pentagon viewpoint—of embedding the most deadly of first-strike weapons in German population centers. Schmidt, smart as he was, did not catch on until the decision had been made.

**Leaders on both sides of the Atlantic speak increasingly of a "European superpower"—a nuclear-armed Europe that could carry on the arms race in the European theater and also intervene in the Third World.**

Development of a Pentagon strategic notion known as "horizontal escalation" has increased German alarm. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger spelled this out in his annual report to Congress for fiscal 1983. It has become increasingly clear, wrote Weinberger, that members of the Atlantic Alliance are "bound together as one and critically depend on each other and even outside the NATO treaty boundaries—notably the Persian Gulf...."

Weinberger went on: "The strategy we have been developing seeks to defend Alliance interests in such other regions. For the region of the Persian Gulf, in particular, our strategy is based on the concept that the prospect of combat with the U.S. and other friendly forces, coupled with the prospect that we might carry the war to other arenas, is the most effective deterrent to Soviet aggression.... This strategy recognizes that we have options for fighting on other fronts and for building up allied strength that would lead to consequences unacceptable to the Soviet Union."

Weinberger calls this a "wartime strategy that confronts the enemy, were he to attack, with the risk of our counteroffensive against his vulnerable points." This is "horizontal escalation."

If the U.S. is in a relatively weaker position close to the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf, it could mount a counteroffensive against Soviet "vulnerable points." Weinberger mentions Poland as a particularly vulnerable point for Soviet power. In short, the U.S. could start a war in Europe, where the West has a clear political and military advantage, if it should run into difficulty in some other part of world. The Pershing II and cruise missiles would be the main weapons of such a conflict.

#### Missiles aimed where?

This is the most dramatic of the "deadly connections" between the nuclear arms race in Europe and Third World interventions. There are others. In Italy, for instance, it is generally understood that the U.S. cruise missiles stationed at Comiso in southern Sicily are reserved for use not against the Soviet Union, but against northern Africa, the Middle East or the Gulf region—Libya being the closest potential target.

But the most important "deadly connection" is much more comprehensive and reaches into virtually every aspect of social life. Under the Reagan administration, America is throwing its enormous power into the balance to transform the whole political, social and economic relationship of forces within the Western European countries, to break down their labor movements and welfare states and prepare them to take an active military role in dominating the Third World.

Here two factors must be stressed. One is the lure of American technology, the idea that Europe risks "missing the boat" of the electronic computer revolution and sinking into the status of an underdeveloped region, that the only way to keep up is to build a sophisticated war machine. This idea is particularly seductive to French leaders and explains President Mitterrand's support for the Euromissiles—that and his traditional antipathy toward Germany.

The second factor is the mass unemployment in Europe resulting from the collapse of old industries and the robotization of so much work. Throughout history, the presence of a large mass of unemployed young males has always been solved in the same way: war. And already, some Washington conservatives are referring offhandedly to West Germany as a "pool of military manpower."

Leaders on both sides of the Atlantic are speaking more and more of a "European superpower"—a nuclear-armed Europe that could carry on the arms race in the European theater and also intervene in the Third World. In Asia, Japan is being urged to resume its militaristic tradition. Forty years after the end of World War II, the German and Japanese peoples remember the terrible lessons of war and reject militarism, but the U.S. is putting pressure on their leaders to revive the aggressive imperialism of the past. ■



## SWEDISH GENDER GAP

IN HER ARTICLE ON THE GENDER GAP (*ITT*, June 13), Barbara Ehrenreich writes, "Nowhere except in the U.S., as far as I can discover, have women actually moved to the left of men."

History, however, may award the accolade for being the first to create a genuine, effective gender gap to Swedish women. In the late '70s Swedish women who were active in the Liberal, Center, Social Democratic and Communist parties, and in the trade unions, began to identify aims held in common and to move away from their male counterparts. One result was the passage in 1979, over the opposition of employers, trade unions and the powerful Social Democratic Party, of an anti-discrimination law requiring affirmative action of employers and providing the machinery to enforce compliance. The unions and their political arm, the SDP, had wanted to keep control over discrimination issues and regarded the bill as a threat to union power.

Nuclear power was a second issue of the late '70s on which women of all parties except the Conservative took a more advanced position than men. In the late '70s, Social Democratic women broke with their party's position to support the non-party Women's Struggle for Peace, which was mobilizing public opinion for an immediate moratorium on construction of nuclear power plants as well as for nuclear disarmament. This campaign played a part in the decision of the SDP to agree to a referendum, revise its own pro-nuclear policy and put forward a compromise proposal (adopt-

ed) that called for phasing out nuclear power in Sweden by 2010.

The militant advocacy by women of an unequivocal moratorium on nuclear power suggest that the gender gap, in this case at least, was not just a gut reaction in favor of peace and "female" values, or a matter of women's special economic interests. It reflected a readiness to countenance a revolution in life styles based on zero or minus growth, since Sweden is poor in energy resources, and it is highly unlikely that renewable sources of energy—solar, wind, geothermal, etc.—can fuel the kind of growth economy that Swedish Social Democracy has traditionally endorsed and that financed the welfare state.

—Hilda Scott  
Cambridge, Mass.

## TOTAL CHANGE

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY ENJOYED THE ISSUE on the gender gap. Francis Fox Piven's article on the strategy of voter registration was particularly informative. But there is a crucial objection to welfare programs that she missed that contributes to our not being "quite willing to defend programs being cut." There is the desire of many activists to wage campaigns to increase permanently the power of the disenfranchised. If we win back the programs, the power of having basic human needs is granted but will still leave standing the mechanisms to undo those programs at a later date. As an activist having experienced the strain and near burnout quality of campaigning, I want to change the decision-making mechanisms to prevent an undoing of our hard won victories. If we

# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

focus energies to create new businesses and services run by those who work in them, then the final decision makers in the process are those who depend on these alternatives.

—Greg Bates  
Coordinator, Boston Movement  
for a New Society

## GOLD FLOWER REVISITED

THE OPENING LINE OF DEBORAH Davis-Friedman's review article (*ITT*, June 13) is alarmingly misleading. The story of Gold Flower was not, as she claims, exported to the U.S. by China in the Cultural Revolution, and cannot be taken as an indicator of politics and policies toward women at that time.

"Gold Flower's Story" is chapter 42 of Jack Belden's book, *China Shakes the World*, originally published in 1949 and republished in 1970 by the Monthly Review Press. It also appeared in a pamphlet form published by England Free Press in the early '70s.

Belden's book is a solid, objective and generally sympathetic account of the Chinese civil war. Belden was an experienced journalist who worked in China for many years and spoke the language well. The young woman he interviewed for over a week was not "a heroine of the Chinese civil war" by the usual standards; she was an ordinary peasant woman in a small village where Belden found himself temporarily stranded because of major flooding in the region. He selected her; she was not presented to him as a "model case."

Davis-Friedman's explanation of the source and meaning of the story serves her own purposes. But the facts are that the story reflects the mood and changing values of the newly liberated areas in 1947-48, as transmitted by a good Western journalist, and it is not a message from the Chinese authorities and responsible cadres during the Cultural Revolution years.

—Norma Diamond  
Professor of Anthropology  
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

## LEMING'S CORNER

# Art for art's sake?

I don't make the gallery scene much anymore: I'm waiting for socialist realism to make its reappearance; but I did overhear this recently while scouting for a "good" Hockney.

"Hello, I don't believe we've met before; and that's unusual at this sort of thing, isn't it? Another opening; another gallery. They're all here tonight: the artists, the collectors, the critics. The unspeakable gazing at the unsellable.

"Bohemian life? It used to involve a great deal of shouting and smashed furniture. Today they call it performance art.

"Conceptual art? The assumption there was that artists could think. Yes, the movement died.

"Christo? He wraps things—like Mt. Rushmore—in various materials and then photographs the result. Costs millions, of course. Why? Because he's an artist, I suppose. I must say, though, I've always questioned his fascination with inanimate objects covered in polyester. It seems to me you could create the same effect, inexpensively, by simply inviting an insurance salesman to your home.

"Yes, artists did once assume that the world could be made a better place to live in. If you've ever lived in New York you know why they gave up the idea.

"What do I do? I'm an art dealer.

"What is art? Oh, that's marvelously *naïf* of you. In my experience, it's the assumption, on the part of people who delight in making a profit, that they may be able to create the same sensation by staring at something. It never works. But then neither do the people who buy art.

"Warhol? I've met him. Yes, he did say that in the future everyone is going to be famous for 15 minutes. Although I must say that on meeting him my immediate hope was that in the future everyone's going to be intelligent for 15 minutes. He isn't really an artist—more an interior decorator, by choice. That's called 'camp.'

"Who buys it? You mean art? The great collections and museums were founded by the Rockefellers, the Whitneys, the Morgans, the Hartfords, the Guggenheims, the Gettys. Did they like art? Not really. I've seen the collections. They liked buying art.

"You see all of these movements—impressionism, post-impressionism, surrealism, minimalism, futurism—have fused into a much larger movement. What's it called? Capitalism.

"What do I 'think' about all that? Art is not an experience that really encourages thinking. It's more a matter of sensibility—of feeling, if you will. And the Rockefellers just happen to feel more than other people do. No, I don't know how they do it either.

"The Fords? Oh yes, I've met them. I knew Edsel when he was donating his collection to the Detroit museum. Actually the Detroit museum was donating itself to the Ford collection, but that's another story. Yes, his grandfather was a problem. You see, he'd made the family fortune, and then there were those indiscretions. Being pro-German at an awkward time, and violently anti-Jewish. Today his grandsons all collect Chagall: that's consciousness for you.

"I have really enjoyed talking with you, but I see someone standing over there looking rather forlorn. I'm sure it's the artist. In my interest to 'touch bases,' you know. Hope all this talk about art hasn't bored you. Will we ever understand art? I hope not—for all of our sakes."

—Warren Leming

## DOUBLE STANDARD

I WELCOMED YOUR ISSUE ON THE GENDER gap (*ITT*, June 13). But amidst interesting and uplifting articles by Joan Walsh and Jo Freeman favorably describing Maxine Waters and Sonia Johnson, some of James Ridgeway's article on potential women V.P.s was surprisingly inappropriate. The second piece of information he gave about each politician (after her age) was her marital status and number of children. Clearly this is a double-standard since male politicians are not introduced by their reproductive and marital standings.

Either you (and the rest of the U.S. media) stop implying that the most important (first) thing you should know about women is their family situation, or you must assume it is true of men also. Although I think families and friends ought to be important to all of us, such personal information should not be made relevant to politics by the media.

—Felicia Pratto  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## OLYMPIC CHARADE

LESTER RODNEY TURNED OUT TO BE right about Georgetown winning the NCAA national title, but he is wrong about the Olympics. All countries, especially the Africans and Central and South Americans, should boycott the Olympics. This would be a way to punish the U.S. corporate oligopoly and the Reagan administration for its campaign of terror around the world. The Olympics are nothing but a political charade and should be called off.

—Stephen C. Condit  
Hutchinson, Kansas

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## PERSPECTIVES

# The dismal legacy of land reform

By Laurence R. Simon

**F**OR THE PAST FOUR YEARS support for large-scale land reform in El Salvador has been "a political imperative to help prevent political collapse, strike a blow to the left and help prevent radicalization of the rural population," according to a recent report from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) management. The immediate objectives of the Reform "were accomplished and in these terms the reform has been an undisputed success," says the AID. President Reagan also claims that land reform is moving forward. "Since March 1980, the program has benefited more than 550,000 peasants, or about a quarter of the rural population," he said May 9.

The Legislative Assembly in El Salvador, controlled by its conservative major-

ities and large labor surpluses and weak management.

For the phase of the land reform affecting small farmers (the Land-to-the-Tiller program), the audit found that less than half of the individuals eligible for property had filed applications, only 39 percent of the applicants received land, only 5,456 definitive titles out of 75,967 applications (as of December 1983) had been granted and that at least 9 percent of the applicants had been illegally evicted.

Finally, the auditors looked at the Agricultural Development Bank (BFA), the major government of El Salvador credit institution for the agrarian reform, which has received \$29 million from AID, and found seriously insufficient institutional capabilities including weak fiscal, accounting and credit management controls; poor rate of loan recuperation; and unauthorized use of AID funds.

The findings of the inspector general merely confirm the inevitable result of a

tion in March 1980, just three weeks after the reform process started, Jorge Villacorta, undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAG) charged that from the first moment of the agrarian reform there was a "sharp increase in official violence against the very peasants who were the supposed 'beneficiaries' of the process.... To cite one case, five directors and two presidents of the new peasant management organizations were killed."

Recently, officials of the Salvadoran Communal Union (UCS), the largest union made up of farm laborers from the cooperatives, reported that in the first year of the reform more than 90 UCS leaders were killed and 5,000 peasants involved in cooperatives were murdered. The parallel between El Salvador in 1980 and Vietnam in 1970 are evident: agrarian reform as a cover for counter-insurgency.

AID saw the agrarian reform as rural pacification. AID advisors believed they could predict which societies would create conditions for communist revolution. El Salvador ranked high on their "Index of Rural Instability" and AID forced the Salvadoran junta to issue decree 207, the Land-to-the-Tiller program, which promised to convert tenants and sharecroppers on small plots into landowners. One AID official, quoted in the *New York Times*, said the program would breed capitalists like rabbits. Rep. Clarence Long was pleased that it would create a rural middle class. The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) of the AFL-CIO urged the administration, according to AID sources, to back the program, "if not already too late—as a last chance to save El Salvador from a takeover by 'a far left so extreme the comparison with Pol Pot's reign in Cambodia would not be far-fetched.'"

A view of agrarian reform as rural development motivated Villacorta and many of his colleagues at MAG and the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation (ISTA), the primary government institution responsible for implementing the early stages of the land reform. These are people who risked—and some lost—their lives, to implement land reform. ISTA technicians working on the newly formed cooperatives even held a mass strike in the spring of 1980 to protest the escalation of government violence directed against the new cooperatives and the inadequacy of government administration of the reform.

## Conditions of reform.

The poorest and fastest growing sector of the rural population are the landless who do not sharecrop, rent or own land. This 60 percent of the rural population should have been primary beneficiaries of land reform. But the reform excluded them. Phase I, which expropriated agricultural properties over 1,235 acres, permitted two classes of beneficiaries: the small pool of skilled permanent employees and the more numerous *colonos* or hacienda workers. The landless, who cluster about the periphery of haciendas for seasonal wage labor, were not included.

Phase II, which would have expropriated mid-sized and very lucrative properties, has no beneficiaries. It was never implemented.

Beneficiaries of Phase III of the reform, the Land-to-the-Tiller program, are families already working land as tenants or sharecroppers. Though their tenure on the land was insecure (as indicated by the numerous illegal evictions which took place after decree 207 established their rights to apply for legal title to their small plots), they were better off than those for whom no land was available. To the politicians who planned the land reform decrees, the *desplazados*—the landless majority of the rural population—were simply invisible.

Both Phase I and III were designed not to alter the existing land-use pattern. To do so would have required a commitment to rural development instead of pacification or counterinsurgency.

The Land-to-the-Tiller reform in El Salvador affects rented plots of land that result from years of capitalist accumulation and marginalization of the peasant.

Instead of changing the formation known as *minifundia*—small, fragmented parcels of poor quality soil—the Land-to-the-Tiller program institutionalizes and freezes existing patterns. A series of studies quoted by AID in 1980 confirm that renting occurs on poor land not wanted for cultivating export crops, and usually located on steep hillsides, highly prone to erosion.

The *minifundia* collectively are significant as peasant families grow more than 50 percent of the country's corn, beans and sorghum. But individually, the small rental plots are very poor and do not even provide subsistence to their tenants and potential owners. The AID El Salvador mission found that 83 percent of El Salvador's farms are too small to provide families sufficient income to raise them above the absolute poverty level (even when off-farm income is counted).

Similarly, Phase I cooperatives suffer from an abundance of poor quality lands. The inspector general's report found only 20 percent of the cooperatives were located in the areas containing the better lands. So poor was the soil quality, the inspector general found that "much of the land in the Phase I cooperatives that we visited had never before been used for any agricultural purposes."

Basic insufficiency has resulted in enormous financial problems. The "massive capital debt" and "no working capital" found on Phase I cooperatives led the inspector general to conclude that the land reform "did not properly consider the size of the farms and quality of the soil in

## El Salvador's policy traded sound rural development for hasty political gain.

relation to productivity and income in establishing cooperatives."

The cooperatives are burdened with an agrarian reform debt (for compensation to former owners) estimated to be \$300 million at 9.5 percent per annum. "Only meager payments have been made on this debt by a few cooperatives." This debt could total, the inspector general notes, a staggering \$2 billion by the year 2000.

Production credits for the 1983-84 crop year totaling more than \$23 million had to be "refinanced, thereby increasing the debt and leaving the cooperatives little or no capability for further borrowing."

The institutional capacity of the government of El Salvador was found seriously lacking in both financial and technical support. "The technical assistance and training so important for increased production and income have not been forthcoming from the responsible [government of El Salvador] agencies."

President Reagan asserted that the land reform "has benefited more than 550,000 peasants, or about a quarter of the rural population." But the inspector general's findings would place the number of beneficiaries closer to 300,000, or 13 percent. Even these estimates are high. The inspector general found 40 of 317 Phase I cooperatives had been abandoned due to civil disturbances. Likewise, the number of Phase III "recipients not working the land and who had been evicted probably is greater than that shown by our estimate because there is a high probability that landowners and guerrillas alike in the insecure areas [about 30 percent of the nation] are not enforcing... Phase III."

Numbers aside, most of those incorporated into the reform are either buried in debt or plowing lands that cannot sustain continuous food-crop production. They live in sub-human conditions without hope of betterment. They are less the beneficiaries than the victims of a very doubtful reform.

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ity, voted June 28 to terminate the Land-to-the-Tiller program, and thus bar additional peasants from applying for land titles. "The land reform program in this country is now formally paralyzed," Jorge Camacho, deputy minister of agriculture and a leader of the largest peasant union told the *New York Times* on June 30. "This is a future without promise. Land will go back to owners, and the people will be kicked off."

New evidence, however, including internal AID documents, portrays the remaining parts of the reform as nearing collapse. In an internal AID audit January 18 the inspector general warned that the future of the land reform, which has already received more than 200 million tax dollars, is bleak. The audit found that the new agrarian reform cooperatives have massive and overwhelming capital debt, no working capital, large tracts of non-productive and poor quality lands affecting 75 percent of the cooper-

highly politicized and structurally flawed development program. While land reform is always a process that shifts power through redistributing land rights basic to the accumulation of wealth, it will succeed only so far as it meets the real needs of the rural poor. The El Salvador land reform is failing first and foremost because it traded sound rural development for hasty political gain.

Agrarian reform backers had various motives. On March 6, 1980, both a state of siege and an agrarian reform decree were announced. Alberto Arene, a minister in the first junta, wrote in late 1980 that the agrarian reform was designed to provide hardline military officers a context in which they could pursue war against the opposition while placating the more moderate officers. Whether the plan was so methodical is difficult to determine; but it did have the effect of identifying and targeting progressive peasant leadership. In his letter of resigna-

INX/Charles Waller



By Sam Bowles, David M. Gordon  
and Thomas E. Weisskopf

This is Part IV of a four-part series.

DEBATE IS EMERGING among leftists about the possibility and priority of a progressive economic alternative.

While some have argued vigorously in favor of such a strategy, others have criticized it on a variety of grounds—including, for example, its reformism, its inattention to other critical problems such as nuclear terror, racism, sexism or environmental devastation, and its diversion from organizing for more fundamental socialist transformation.

We have argued that a strategy of wage-led productivity growth—involving movement toward full employment, rapid wage growth and a sharp reduction in wage differentials—would effectively promote economic recovery.

## Some argue this economic plan will just prolong capitalism's lease on life.

Our argument in the previous three articles of this series has focused on the macroeconomic logic of a wage-led productivity growth alternative because its macroeconomic dimensions are often unappreciated within the progressive community. We did not dwell on other important advantages of such a strategy because they seem self-evident: wage-led productivity growth would also directly promote the objective of equality, social justice, economic security and the alleviation of personal suffering.

If this strategy has clear economic appeal, we think it has equally appealing political attractions.

First, it directly addresses some of the most important sources of gender and racial inequality. Many recent proposals for an industrial policy are quite likely to benefit men and whites disproportionately. The feminization of poverty and the continuing economic barriers facing people of color in the U.S. stem not only from discrimination but also from our tragic tolerance of backward enterprises and low-wage employment. A wage-led macroeconomic strategy is hardly sufficient for addressing the roots of racism and sexism, but it could provide a strong economic foundation for movement toward greater equality of opportunity and outcome.

A second and related political advantage is that a wage-led productivity growth strategy could provide an important boost to the political coalition-building that must accompany any mobilization on progressive issues in this country. The emphasis on both wage growth and wage equalization—through, for example, a dramatic increase in the minimum wage—could help define a common and mutually advantageous agenda among labor, women's, black, Hispanic and Asian constituencies. The emphasis on *productivity* growth and a reduction of waste—rather than an emphasis on *output* growth in whatever form—could help build bridges between the environmentalist constituency and those more directly concerned about economic security. Wage growth is also the key to dealing with the fiscal problems of Social Security—and thus the crucial link to the economic fears of the elderly.

This argument can be expressed in a more instrumental way. Many popular constituencies have been led to believe—by the conventional insistence on zero-sum logic—that they can only advance their own interest at the expense of some other constituency among poor and working people. This is a classic divide-and-conquer tactic of dominant elites.

But when people begin to transcend the

zero-sum illusion, they also begin to arm themselves with an ideological instrument against the "beggar-the-neighbors" mentality. Viewed simply as a weapon in ideological struggle, the wage-led productivity growth argument can be a valuable tool in persuading members of a wide variety of constituencies about the plausibility and possibility of a widespread progressive coalition for economic security and justice. If fairness and efficiency do not necessarily conflict, then the interests of one constituency in a potential progressive coalition need not necessarily conflict with those of any other.

This leads to a third appeal. The boundary between the politically "feasible" and "infeasible" is obviously not fixed, but is itself a function of the breadth and power of forces pushing for change and transformation. A wage-led productivity growth strategy would not only help build a much stronger political coalition, but it also would help extend the realm of economic demands around which progressives could plausibly rally—beyond the confines of industrial policy and tax reform to much broader concerns.

A fourth critical political advantage is that the specific policy measures encompassed by a wage-led productivity growth strategy appear well within the realm of



## THE ECONOMY IV

political possibility in the '80s. They can be spelled out in practical detail and they are framed in terms that many political constituencies can understand and support.

This brings up an important debate within the left. The wage-led growth strategy for economic recovery and our proposed Economic Bill of Rights outline a set of reforms of the capitalist structure of the U.S. economy. While some of them involve radical changes (e.g., democratization of the Federal Reserve Board, nationalization of the major oil companies), they do not add up to a blueprint for socialism. Could it be that our strategy amounts to little more than another "social-democratic" project to render capitalism economically more successful and a little more humane, effectively prolonging its lease on life rather than promoting a transition to socialism?

This concern increases when considering our assertion that wage-led growth would boost productivity, output and

## PERSPECTIVES

# Productivity and its political uses

employment as part of a general economic recovery. The clear implication is that both workers and capitalists would benefit—at least in the short run.

Much as postwar Keynesian demand-management policies benefited capitalism as a whole while boosting workers' employment and wages, we are suggesting that wage-led productivity growth could bring widespread benefits to a capitalist society. In a slack economy it is possible for many to benefit from reduction of that slack. And it is precisely the possibility that gains would be widespread that makes the political appeal of a wage-led growth strategy so powerful. This was the basis of broad support for Keynesian

hours or increases in material living standards (or both) for the vast majority of workers—without fostering divisive struggles that inevitably occur when, to quote the Russian proverb, "the scarcity is to be shared among the peasants." The resulting moderation of political divisions would dramatically enhance the political power of working and poor people, particularly in comparison to the current fragmentation and divisions among constituencies.

Second, full employment and more equal wages would weaken the threat of job loss and strengthen the hand of labor in its relations with capital, not only at the wage bargaining table, but also in the office and on the shop floor. As the application of negative sanctions—ultimately dependent on the threat of unemployment—becomes less effective, attention would have to turn to positive incentives to motivate work. Democratic workplace demands would almost inevitably rise in priority, necessity and feasibility.

Third, price controls—even tax-based flexible price controls of the sort that we advocate—would confront capital with a dilemma. If profits fall on price-controlled items and if capital responds by production cutbacks, demands for public provision of the products, or public allocation of investment, would surely follow. Thus capital's time-honored strategy—to use its mobility to escape controls—could be a dangerous game; a unified popular movement might choose to restrict capital mobility or to replace the capitalists rather than capitulate.

The same argument applies to the threat of "capital strike." Suppose that in the longer run capitalist profits were pinched under a wage-led regime, and that capitalists, in their inimitable fashion, preferred to invest elsewhere, or not to invest at all. Under what circumstances would poor and working people be most likely to protest and to assume direct responsibility for production, investment and employment? In a situation in which the state has foresworn responsibility for the level of investment and employment? Or under a regime in which the direct support of wages, employment and productivity-enhancing investment were a foundation of macroeconomic policy? We think that a wage-led productivity growth strategy would provide the best possible medium-term political support for mobilization against "capital strike" if and when it occurred.

None of this, of course, adds up to socialism. If a broadly-based and powerful socialist movement already existed in the U.S., we would not need to focus so insistently on transitional economic demands. But such a movement does not yet exist. In the meantime, we think that the wage-led productivity growth strategy constitutes part of an economic program that socialists could fight for—since it would in the medium term be likely to weaken capital, help to strengthen and unify popular forces and lead to questions about the sanctity of capitalist privilege.

Our approach differs fundamentally from that of most Keynesians and traditional social democrats who are inclined to provide advice to progressive governments on reforming their capitalist economies. In contrast to such a "top-down" approach to social change, we advocate a strategy that is designed to serve as an instrument for mobilization—to promote the formation of a popular coalition upon which any program for progressive change must have a real chance of realization.

First, because such a program is both egalitarian and productivity-enhancing, it would provide the basis for reductions in

Continued on page 22



**Taking It All In**

By Pauline Kael

Holt, Rinehart and Winston,  
\$14.95 paper, 527 pp.

By Pat Aufderheide

I wouldn't want to be Pauline Kael right now. She has an illustrious career behind her as a maverick intellectual. Her subject is the industry that has packaged and retailed to the American public pieces of its own dreams, often infused with a sexual vitality that Kael was one of the few to dare to notice in print. And now, the bottom is falling out of that popular art form—the Hollywood movie.

Kael knows it, too. In the central essay of her most recent collection of *New Yorker* articles, *Taking It All In*, she describes with anger and pain—always sar-

bet on the power of stars' names and of yesterday's successes to sell a stale product widely—on cable TV, in foreign markets and on videocassettes.

Safety doesn't jive with success often enough. The old and imperfect match between moguls' greed and the lust of popular artists to reach the public has slipped. Artists of all degrees "die of encouragement" while deal after deal falls through and good ideas are transformed into bad. The most bankable project is too often the least interesting. A fresh approach, even an instinct for the banana-peel popular, gets squashed in the process.

Any working film reviewer recognizes both her analysis and her implied sense of loss. Most of us took up this job as a lark, feeding on the immediacy and energy of the form and treasuring our instant access to an aud-

# INPRINT

## Pauline Kael on film: a defender of the real

ience. "Politicized" film criticism typically belabors its discovery of capitalist ideology inside film plots.

The institutionalization of film criticism in universities has merely added another subject area to the geography over which arcane literary criticism is casting a cloud. And maybe most disappointing, promising journalistic writers with an irreverent and challenging style get burned out.

favorites of the early '80s died almost on box office birth—*The Stunt Man*, for instance, and *Melvin and Howard*. Others, like *The Night of the Shooting Stars* and *Used Cars*, captured marginal markets.

If popular films were not a mass-audience artform, this would not be a problem. In fact, if Kael were John Simon—already contemptuous of the public's execrable taste—it wouldn't

did you pick this movie to write about, and why at such length? (Does *Best Friends* bear thinking about, even to elicit a keeper phrase like "Velveeta comedy"?) Why dissect the fatal flaws of a plot or a director's style if we can be reasonably sure neither was finally attributable to the scriptwriter or director anyway? Why should we even read about mediocre movies whose final result bears almost no relation to the expectations of anyone who worked on it?

These reviews, longer and less tightly structured than her earlier work, try to restore, by very insistence, an authentic three-way relationship between moviemaker, reviewer and audience. Even when it doesn't work, however, we can still glean from the reviews an example of craftsmanship in popular criticism and a perspective on popular culture.

She is, for instance, rare among reviewers for her research and her historical depth. When she sees Fred Schepisi's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* and finds it intriguing, she resorts to Thomas Keneally's book of the same name. Staying up all night to read it, she locates the synergy of the two men's very different artistic styles. With her historical grounding—in film and in social history—she can draw illuminating parallels. And she can always spot a cheap remake.

### Defender of the real.

She is also one of our finest debunkers, a function that may still have value in relation to popular movies. She knows exactly how Sidney Lumet retails self-righteousness, and she accurately pinpoints the smug liberalism of *Brubaker*, in which Robert Redford plays a prison warden who saves his soul but helps no prisoners. She calls the Australian film *My Brilliant Career* not history but "taxidermy," and says its heroine is a precursor not of a "new woman" but of "the feminist novelists who write princess fantasies."

This ability to puncture pretention has raised hackles across the board, especially among liberals, to whom Kael imputes a political clout they wish they had. Her rejection of the moralistic and the trite irritates moralists, and it is at the core of what's good in her criticism. She is a defender of the real, the earthy and the passion in movies, the stuff in us that films so depend on, to which they used to pander shamelessly and to which they now pander so ineffectually.

It seems like a waste of talent to throw that much perception and passion at mainstream movies today. Reading this latest anthology, we wish for Kael's approach to spread to other critics. And we wish for her to apply her insights in other arenas of popular culture. Her perspective and exuberance deserve to be extended beyond the focus on this sequelled, prequelled and remade commodity.

©Pat Aufderheide



donic and crisp where others are self-righteous or hortatory—the emptying out of the art form. Her argument is simple, and it comes to us with the experience of her year off from reviewing to serve as a consultant in Hollywood.

As movies have become branches of conglomerates, the executives in charge, instead of pandering to lowest-common-denominator taste, are pandering to their own combination of ignorance and short-term profiteering. Old-style movie moguls at least wanted to make appealing movies, because their business depended on it.

The new managers, who come out of accounting divisions of corporations whose business is capital mobility, have other games to play. Poaching on the expectations built up from a former era, they often place their

ience. Most of us stayed in it because it was a vocation, not an occupation—god knows it doesn't pay. Those of us who came into the business during the late '60s and early '70s saw in movies what Pauline Kael saw—at their best, an authentic expression of a commercially-conditioned culture. In an era where social as well as political conventions were heatedly contested, we expected that the most popular movies would participate in that historical upheaval.

For a while—even now, occasionally—that was true. But for all the aspirations of baby boom scribblers, film criticism did not become a forum where art and society met. Kael's approach, combining intuition with erudition and curiosity, soaring free of theoretical confines and academic phraseology without being idiosyncratic or elitist, remained a

In this community, Kael has always stood out as someone whose spirit refuses to be crushed under truckloads of trash. But with the central essay that begins this book, called "Why Are Movies So Bad? or The Numbers," she may finally have provided ammunition against the task of reviewing movies as a full-time endeavor—and thus against the rest of her book.

Her dedication even tiptoes up to such a realization. Some of her

matter either. But Kael cares about movies precisely in their intersection with something (often something unmentionable) in the culture. When the connection between popular art and audience becomes attenuated, some of the meaning goes out of the work of a critic whose central focus is on it.

This is the greater sadness in Kael's central essay. It provokes questions a Kael devotee would be just as happy not to ask. Why

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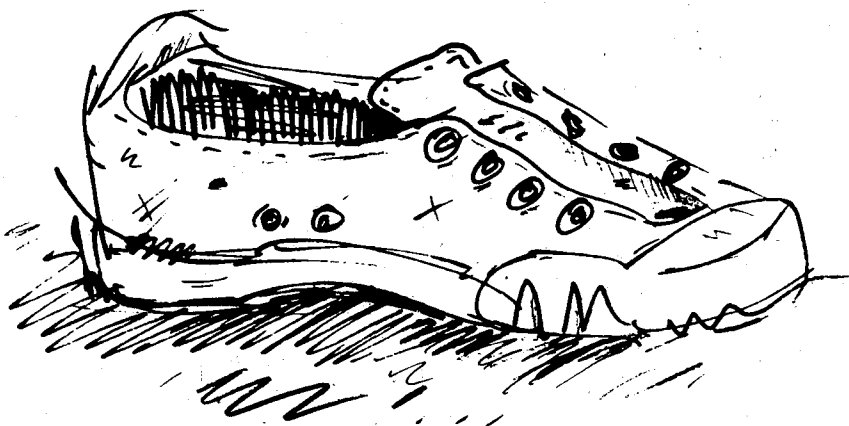
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## The Making of the Second Cold War

By Fred Halliday

Verso Editions (London), distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Schocken Books (New York) 266 pp.

By Joanne Landy

This book is an important contribution to our understanding of the Cold War. It documents the changing forms of the contest between East and West that has dominated world politics since 1945 and also summarizes many current theories that attempt to explain the Cold War's roots. Halliday believes that the competition is global, bipolar and systemic, based on a "rivalry between social systems that remain, with all necessary qualifications, in continuing conflict."

Arguing against the theory that the new Cold War is simply the result of the hostility between the two superpowers, Halliday insists that the basic antagonism is between the capitalist and Communist systems, with the U.S. and the USSR at the core of their respective camps. Implicit in this analysis is the assumption that the struggle between East and West cannot be permanently resolved so long as the two systems are major contenders for world hegemony—yet, significantly, he never quite says this.

Halliday also gives his perspective on who is responsible for the Second Cold War. He argues that both sides are guilty, but unequally so. The U.S., because of its drive for military superiority, bears the primary responsibility. The USSR also shares some blame because in the '60s and '70s it engaged in its own massive nuclear build-up. But while Halliday condemns the Soviet Union's build-up for its part in heightening East-West tensions, he nonetheless sees the USSR as fundamentally reactive and defensive in the Cold War.

The greatest strength of this book is that Halliday views the post-war antagonism—despite the deep divisions within each bloc and independent behavior of countries like China—as basically rivalry between socio-economic systems. But the book's biggest weakness lies in Halliday's failure to understand the dynamics of this rivalry, in which the U.S. defends an increasingly unpopular status quo around the world, while pro-Communist forces often coopt mass movements for political and social change against this status quo.

When these forces capture the leadership of such movements, they play a role in strengthening the Soviet-type system internationally, analagous to the function military power and economic pressure play in strengthening world capitalism. Halliday fails to grasp fully this basic responsibility for the East-West conflict and the necessity for developing a third force independent of and in opposition to both superpowers.

The strengths and difficulties of Halliday's analysis become clearer as one follows his argument. He divides the post-war period into four phases. The initial period, which he terms Cold War I, lasted from 1946 until 1953. This was a time of maximum and more or less consistent tension between the U.S. and the USSR. The First Cold War ended in the year of Stalin's death and was followed by several years of "Oscillatory Antagonism" (1953-69)—a period marked by

neither permanent confrontation nor sustained negotiations between the superpowers.

The Nixon administration ushered in detente (1969-79), characterized by continuing efforts to seek negotiated settlements between the two countries. But by the late '70s, however, detente had clearly failed in the eyes of the American government, and by 1979 the Carter administration was carrying out a major military escalation, with its demands on Europe for substantial increases in arms spending, the sharp leap in the U.S. military budget, the expansion of the arms race into space and

defending the USSR, he writes that it "has to a certain extent made itself the ally of Third World emancipation," ignoring the fact that for the Soviet Union support to revolutionary movements around the world is part and parcel of its own struggle for global power and influence.

Halliday does observe that where pro-Communist movements have come to power, "revolutionary change was counterbalanced by the erection of bureaucratic political structures within these states." But this is not a question of balance sheets. The coming to power of pro-Communist forces is inseparable

movement whose domestic radical and democratic practices challenged both capitalism and Communism.

### No alternative.

Of course, Ronald Reagan and his cohorts vastly exaggerate the extent to which Soviet military aid is responsible for the success of anti-Western movements. They are unable to come to terms with the deep indigenous drive for radical social change that exists throughout the underdeveloped world as an inevitable response to the ravages of world capitalism on the lives of Third World people, especially as the international economic crisis deepens. When revolutions in these countries violate the democratic aspirations of their popular base and move in a bureaucratic-totalitarian direction—as they all too often do—it is because there is no strong and viable alternative to the two dominant world social systems.

In this vacuum the Soviet model, tarnished though it is, exerts a powerful magnetism upon revolutionary leaderships, many of whom end up hoping to emulate the USSR's social order, even if they have no desire to have their countries become Soviet client-states. It should be obvious that a really progressive foreign policy by the U.S. would go a long way toward encouraging and strengthening democratic radical currents in the Third World, but neither Reagan nor the leaders of the Democratic Party appear prepared to countenance the anti-capitalist policies these currents would adopt.

Of course, there is a significant military component in the USSR's Cold War repertoire, including its continuing physical occupation of Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, its attempt to gain a military-strategic foothold in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, and its massive nuclear and conventional arsenal. But the mix of methods the two sides use to pursue their Cold War aims is very different—the West's forced to rely more heavily on military intimidation, economic pressure and dictatorships friendly to the capitalist way of life while the Communist system often employs political methods, capitalizing on its ability to appeal to mass movements for social change in parts of the globe dominated by capitalism.

The USSR's lesser reliance on military methods leads many on the left—including Halliday—to make the mistake of viewing the Soviet system and its military efforts as *ipso facto* defensive. Instead, both sides should be understood as major forces fighting a deadly serious battle, using whatever instruments are at their disposal—diplomatic, economic, political or military—not only against each other but also against the "third way" implicit in the independent struggles for democracy, self-determination and social justice that take place in the West, the East and the Third World.

For the superpowers there is no meaningful distinction between "offensive" and "defensive" strategies. As in all traditional rivalries, both have good reason to fear their enemy, and in that sense are genuinely defensive.

Strange as it might seem, Reagan's oft-cited "paranoia" has a real basis; it is a defensive reaction to the fact that since the end of World War II capitalist hegemony has been supplanted in many parts of the world—China,

Vietnam, Cuba and Eastern Europe being the most salient examples. And the process threatens to continue.

But the U.S.'s fear of losing ground in the Cold War no more justifies its drive toward military superiority than does the Soviet's well-grounded fear about Western armaments justify its intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan, or its nuclear weapons. The fears and hostilities of Eastern and Western rulers toward each other do not entitle them to violate the self-determination of smaller countries, deny social or political rights at home or threaten everyone with nuclear annihilation.

In his book Halliday criticizes but also apologizes for Soviet militarism. Fortunately, however, his tenderheartedness toward the USSR does not prevent him from supporting independent movements in both halves of Europe—such as the mass peace movements of the West and the fledgling unofficial peace groups in the East—as a force to press the superpowers to disengage from their domination of the continent.

Halliday is eloquent and inspiring when he suggests the political possibilities that would be opened up, not only for East and West Europeans but also for the less developed world, if the U.S. were forced by protest from below to initiate the disengagement process by withdrawing from Europe.

*Whereas hitherto European states have acted as imperialist allies of the U.S.A., a new Europe would be able to provide an independent source of economic and diplomatic backing to states in the Third World, which have till now been pulled in opposing directions by the magnetic force of the great power conflict.... The emergence of such an independent and non-aligned Western Europe would, therefore, challenge the Cold War in three central respects—by reducing the strategic power of the U.S.A., by undermining the legitimation for the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe, and by loosening the bipolar dynamic that grips the Third World.... A socialist Europe, which pioneered a new democratic model of society, would undermine the legitimacy of both the U.S.A. and the USSR, and do more than anything to challenge the underlying political logic of the Great Contest as it has been fought out since 1945.*

If this challenge is to succeed, it will have to emerge out of the struggle against both superpowers—and the systems they defend. Whether for the peace and anti-intervention movements in the U.S. and Europe, *Solidarnosc*, Chilean workers or the democratic movement in the Philippines, the key to building an influential third force is solidarity with one another, along with independence from and opposition to the military, economic and political pressures exerted by both superpowers.

Insofar as Halliday suggests a perspective that breaks down the mutually legitimating bipolar system and points to a new path, he is to be commended. But to the extent that he clings to a protective view of the Soviet side in the Cold War, he does the emerging non-aligned movements around the world a profound disservice.

Joanne Landy is a co-director of the New York City-based Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West. The opinions expressed in this review are her own.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# How the Cold War works and who's to blame



plans facilitating intervention into the Third World, such as development of the Rapid Deployment Force. These initiatives began the Second Cold War.

According to Halliday, the U.S. abandoned detente because American expectations were not met. The USSR continued its drive for nuclear parity with the U.S. and achieved enormous military gains. And detente did not produce the hoped-for Soviet restraint in the Third World; instead, the USSR aggressively involved itself in conflicts in Angola, Ethiopia and also occupied Afghanistan.

### Tenderheartedness.

While Halliday's analysis of the impetus behind Carter's and Reagan's motives for ending detente and renewing an unbridled arms race is accurate, his view of Soviet behavior tends to be, as Edward Thompson noted in his review of the book, "tenderhearted, sometimes apologetic." Halliday seems to regard the Soviet Union as historically progressive vis-a-vis the capitalist West. He strongly suggests this when,

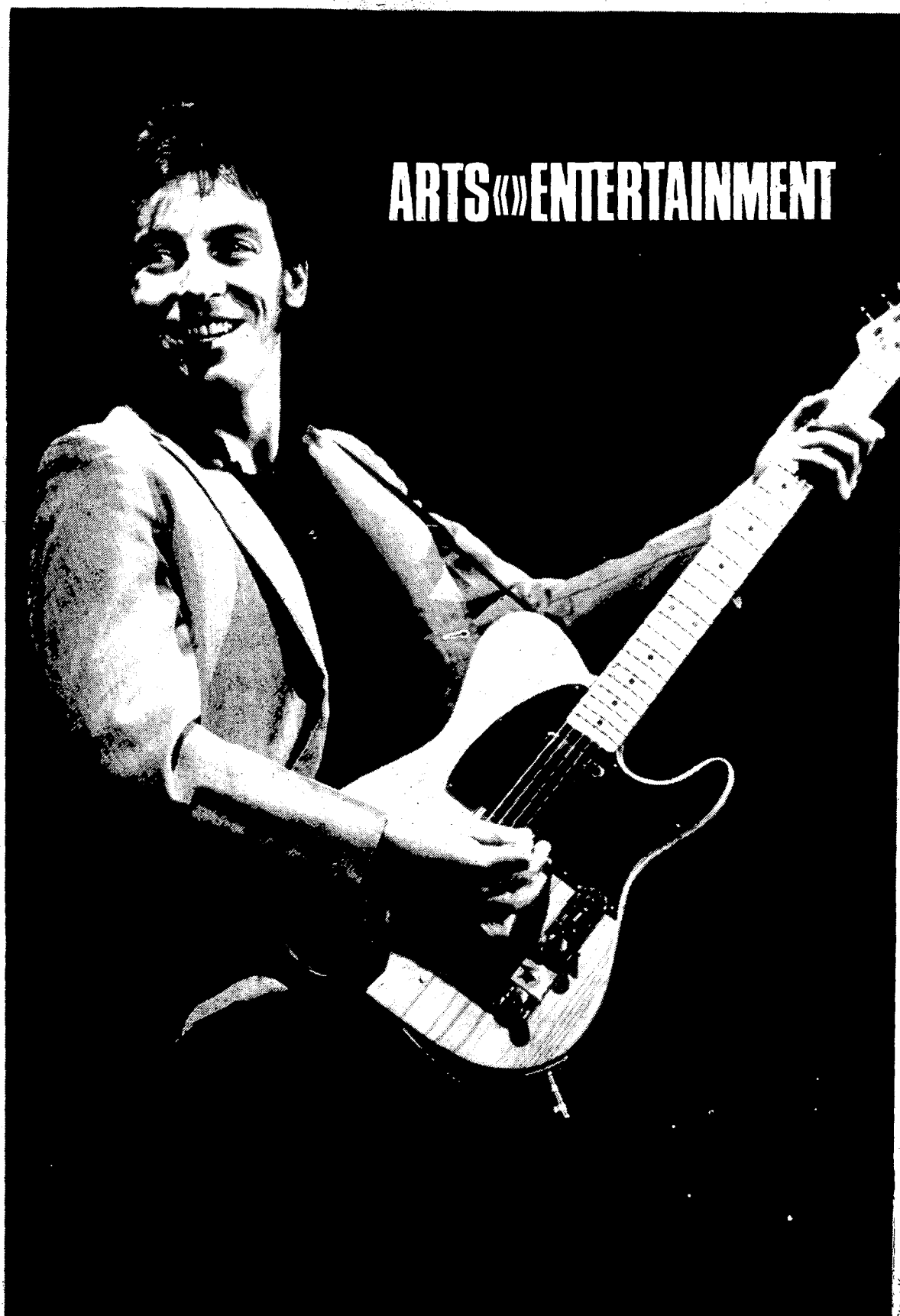
from the imposition of "new bureaucratic structures"—an understated way of describing one-party states like Cuba or Vietnam where, as in the USSR, real trade unions are illegal, there is no right to strike, assemble, form independent political groups or publish literature critical of the government, and political dissenters are routinely imprisoned for their ideas.

This is not to say that an embattled movement should refuse to accept guns from any source, including one of the superpowers, if it is possible to get this aid without fraying political strings. But just as it is hard to envision circumstances in which the U.S. would not attach conditions when aiding an anti-Communist movement, the Soviet Union will likewise try to exact a price for its support. Cases in point: the Cubans' public defense of the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua's condemnation of Polish Solidarity. More fundamentally, it is unlikely that either the U.S. or the USSR would give substantial and sustained aid to a revolutionary government or



## MUSIC

## The working-class hero



By Michael S. Kimmel

Bruce Springsteen has become America's working-class hero, and there is little doubt that he is a highly skilled craftsman. Few musicians explore the contours of class society with such intensity and passion, and few can take those qualities into the Top 10. The release of his latest record, *Born in the U.S.A.*, confirms both his unsparing vision and his commercial viability.

It's been two years since Springsteen's last record. *Nebraska* was lean and sparse, pairing Springsteen's achingly hoarse vocals and his acoustic guitar on a friend's four-track. His songs were as bleak as the black-and-white cover photograph—an endless two-lane highway seen through a sleet-splattered windshield. Earlier Springsteen records implied escapes from working-class life. Songs like "The Promised Land" or his trademark, "Born to Run," celebrated the freedom of the endless highway late at night or a consuming passion (cars, women) as the routes away from the "darkness at the edge of town." *Nebraska* exposed these escapes as illusions. The darkness lay in-

side, and all roads led back to pain, fear and emptiness.

This bold departure in both theme and music, simultaneously paring away hope and the driving bar-band sound Springsteen had cultivated, resulted in an uncom-

promising record that sold fairly well despite itself. On *Born in the U.S.A.*, though, Springsteen inserts this despairing vision back into his rocking sound. The result is a passionate, ruthlessly honest record. (In addition,

Springsteen is currently on a concert tour that will bring him to six Midwestern cities as well as Toronto and Montreal before concluding at New Jersey's Meadowlands for two weeks.)

Each side of *Born in the U.S.A.* mirrors the other. Both begin with a thundering rock song, lead into two or three unmemorable, slower-paced pieces and end with a pair of brilliant compositions, an upbeat top-40 tune, followed by a slow, soft ballad. The thudding bass drum of the title song, which opens the album, immediately heralds Springsteen's return to his big rock'n'roll sound, as he tears into a song about a Vietnam veteran's lonely return to the dead-end life he had left 10 years earlier. In "Cover Me" Springsteen's electric guitar screams as he asks his lover to shield him from the pain of everyday life, though he knows it's a wish and shelter is impossible.

After two forgettable bar songs—"Darlington County" and "Working on the Highway"—Springsteen and the E Street Band ease into "Downbound Train," a slow rocker (with the same lean electric-guitar chords as "The River" and Tom Petty's "Refugee") about the painful realization that economic collapse often shatters our dreams. The listener waits for the song to kick optimistically into high gear, but like the life it describes, it never does. Instead, now he "works down at the car wash/ Where all it ever does is rain."

The side closes with "I'm on Fire," a haunting ballad about pain and passion on desperate nights. "At night I wake up with the sheets soaking wet/ And a freight train running through the middle of my head," he confesses, pressing us against our own nightmares.

The second side repeats the organization of the first. "No Surrender" is an up-tempo meditation on male friendships, a paean to E Streeter Steve Van Zandt, who is leaving the band to follow a more political musical path as Little Steven, and whose recent effort, *Voice of America* (EMI Records), is a striking rock album mostly about U.S. Central America policy. (On the tour, veteran guitarist Nils Lofgren will be replacing Van Zandt.)

Three less-than-compelling songs later, Springsteen launches into the record's first single, "Dancin' in the Dark." Even though he's bored, tired and angry—"There's a joke here somewhere and it's on me," he sings—he hoarsely offers hope in sim-

ple pleasures, while the band lopes lazily through this even-paced song. (Danny Federici's organ fillers are elegantly understated.) We have to try, Springsteen counsels, "Even if we're dancin' in the dark."

The album closes with perhaps its finest song, the plaintive ballad "My Hometown." Fronting only an organ, tambourine and acoustic guitar, Springsteen narrates a four-verse history of East Coast deindustrialization. The eight-year-old who sat on his father's lap and steered the car down Main Street grows up, watches economic decline and racial tension tear the center out of town, so that now the 35-year-old plans to head out to the Sun Belt in search of a better life. But once, before his family leaves, he sits his own son on his lap in the front seat, to show him their hometown.

In this strong album, Springsteen reverses Thomas Wolfe's adage and implies that home is the place you can never really

*'At night I wake up with the sheets soaking wet/ And a freight train running through the middle of my head.'*

leave. Rooting his identity and his music in the working-class community where he was raised, he understands that most roads out are false ones and that the luster of consumerism is easily tarnished. "The whole time I was growing up, I couldn't wait to get away from my neighborhood," he commented in a 1982 interview. "Now, when I can go anywhere in the world, I keep coming back to it."

*Born in the U.S.A.* is a brilliant comment on the human costs of Reaganomics. Realizing that the promises of opportunity for the working class are hollow and the future bleak and painful, Springsteen takes what trickles down and squeezes passion and honesty from it.

Michael S. Kimmel, a sociologist at Rutgers University, writes regularly about music.

## RADIO

## The sound of magic realism

By Susan E. Osborn

Latin American fiction has achieved aesthetic autonomy. It is no longer a provincial literature but an innovative, diverse and sometimes audacious expression of native themes elevated to a universal plane. In tribute to this literature, National Public Radio is presenting "Faces, Mirrors, Masks," a summer series of 13 half-hour sound portraits of Latin American writers.

Beneath the diversity of con-

temporary Latin American writing lies one unifying element: the awareness of form. Apparently irreconcilable categories—formalism and stream of consciousness, nihilism and meaning, discontinuous episodes and continuous journeying—conjoin in what is misleadingly called "magic realism." But as translator Gregory Rabassa has pointed out, this presentation of the multiple dimensions of reality is magical only according to the "flat-headed" norms of the 19th century. Our archaic notion of what

is "real" has given us a false notion of what is "unreal." For example, when Garcia Marquez overlaps coincidences, coexistences and characters, he is not inducing any magic, but simply defying formulaic reality.

What is revolutionary about recent Latin America literature is the writers' negation of authorial omniscience and their recognition of the reader's role in making the fictional experience. Most contemporary Latin American authors do not offer a total interpretation of the world. Responsibility for interpreting the fictional events falls on the reader.

It is unusual for any radio station to run a series on literature, and NPR deserves praise for "Faces, Mirrors, Masks." But the problem with this presentation is that it doesn't give the listener a good idea of what the literature is about. Rather, the programs dramatize the writers' lives using material from their fictional work.

For example, the narration of

"The Solitude of Latin America: Gabriel Garcia Marquez" is punctuated by interpretations of scenes from *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and *The Autumn of the Patriarch* spoken by famous actors and actresses over taped background noises from settings in the books. ("This is the room where they tied up the Colonel"; "Here's where Remedios the beauty bathed"). Paradoxically, the emphasis on locating, delineating and bounding carefully created ambiguities with "irrefutable" facts denies one of the fundamental aspects of the literature: the participation of the reader's imagination. These programs are lively and often engaging (Arguedas singing an Aztec song is a real treat), but the emphasis on biography and literal reality detracts from the main point. Revolution in form is what Latin American literature is really about.

Susan E. Osborn is book editor of the *Vassar Quarterly*.



By Susan Linfield

Television news is often credited with bringing the Vietnam war into America's living rooms. This popular theory is debatable. TV certainly did not bring us, for instance, the reasons for the war, the history of Vietnam or the views of the North Vietnamese. But it did, with grim regularity, put napalmed children, burning Buddhists and summary executions (if not Thieu's "monkey cages") on the evening news.

But television has, by and large, kept Latin America from us. Where were the TV crews in the '70s when the left "disappeared" in Argentina? Countries such as El Salvador do make it onto the screen, but usually only if their governments are dependent on U.S. aid. What network has turned its cameras on the fighting in Guatemala, the torture chambers in Chile, the massacres in Peru? It has been left largely to independent filmmakers to notice, investigate, analyze and document these conflicts. When the networks do deign to cover these stories, they often rely on independent footage.

While independents may have taken it upon themselves to "tell the world," the situation has also raised several difficult issues for them. How does one establish and contact sources in a dangerous situation? How should one represent oneself to the left and the right? How does one protect footage (and oneself) from the "wrong" side? Most important, perhaps, how do you tell a person's story without thereby endangering his or her life—and if you can't, is the story worth it?

Producer Alex Drehsler, a former reporter for the *San Diego Union* who covered the Nicaraguan Revolution, said his past work was "incalculably important" in establishing contacts for *El Salvador: In the Name of the People*. His sources among the international brigades who had fought with the Sandinistas contacted representatives of the FMLN-FDR (El Salvador's coalition of opposition groups), who helped smuggle him into the country along the Honduran-Salvadoran arms supply route and allowed him to film in Guazapa, a guerrilla-controlled zone. Thomas Sigel, co-director of *When the Mountains Tremble*, a film about Guatemala, notes that most Latin American opposition groups have representatives in the U.S. who establish contacts for his film work. "It's a very tricky thing to talk about contacts for illegal activities," Sigel said. "Hundreds of people become involved in getting journalists into a guerrilla operation."

### Getting all sides.

U.S. press coverage is often desired by both the left and the right. "There was always a feeling that the most important film on Salvador had to be made by North Americans," said Glenn Silber, co-producer of *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*, the film that "broke" the Salvador story in the U.S. press. "This was a strong card for us [in terms of the left]. Because no matter how many films were made in Mexico City, the madness wouldn't stop unless North Americans saw it." Silber, who was backed by PBS money, also benefited from the American embassy's eagerness to present its views: the embassy helped arrange interviews with high Salvadoran officials, although it refused to let him interview then-Ambassador Rob-



ert White.

For *Nicaragua: Report from the Front*, Sigel and co-director Pamela Yates spent several months trying unsuccessfully to get into *contra* training camps in Honduras. "Finally," Sigel said, "I think the CIA made a decision to open it up to the press. Clearly the *contras* had wanted to talk, but there was a very heavy decision not to let us in, to the extent that even a Honduran soldier wouldn't take a bribe. And if a Honduran soldier won't take a bribe, you *know* that something's up. But then they told us that 'blue eyes' had said it was okay. We took that to mean the CIA. And right after us, they let in a number of other journalists."

Many independents ally themselves with a network when working in Latin America for security and credibility reasons. In *The Name of the People*'s director Frank Christopher said his CBS tie (the network paid for his trip to El Salvador on the condition that it would have first option on any footage) was very important to the guerrillas: "They wanted their story to get out." But the value of the CBS connection evaporated with startling speed once Christopher and crew left the "liberated zone" and entered San Salvador. Christopher said that a guerrilla who was captured by the army revealed under torture that the filmmakers had been up in the mountains with the insurgents, "at which point CBS told us, 'Goodbye—don't contact us until you're out of the country.'" The crew managed to gain asylum in the Mexican embassy for a week and was then deported to Mexico City; their Super-8 footage, which they had buried up in the mountains, was subsequently smuggled by guerrillas to a CBS contact in San Salvador, and then sent to the U.S.

Nevertheless, Sigel said, North American journalists are privileged people in Latin America: "The situation changed after they killed Bill Stewart [ABC reporter killed by Somoza forces in 1979]. That was the final nail in the coffin: the negative publicity of it was just too much." Or, as Emilio Rodriguez, a Puerto Rican filmmaker who works with Incine (the Nicaraguan Film Institute), said, "They'll kill Dutch journalists [four of whom were killed by Salvadoran government forces in 1982], because no one cares what the Dutch think. But they care about the Americans."

### Protecting sources.

It is not so much in protecting themselves but rather in protecting their subjects that many independents seem to have the greatest questions and deepest doubts. "If you're dealing with a [political] organization, you have to trust that organization about what you can and can't film,"

Sigel said. In the case of *When the Mountains Tremble*, Sigel said the URNG (National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala, a coalition of opposition groups) determined what was appropriate to shoot.

Sigel's *When the Mountains Tremble* contains a close-up interview of a neighborhood activ-

that the army and government would obtain, or at least see, their works. Emilio Rodriguez recalled a press conference in San Salvador during which a government official showed footage the government had pilfered from a major U.S. network's satellite transmitter the previous day, much to the dismay of the network's reporter, who was in the audience. Videomaker Martin Lucas said that before any publicity on his tape *Camino Triste: The Hard Road of the Guatemalan Refugees* had been released, his distributor received a request for a copy from the U.S. embassy in Guatemala. Silber said the CIA requested a copy of his film, "which we declined. But I assumed that the State Department would get a copy one way or another, which they could send to the Salvadoran government. But if you keep thinking of that, you'll end up doing nothing."

### Understanding risks.

The question of a subject's understanding and use of the media arises repeatedly when filming in

## FILM

# Subversion by documentary



Top, young women of Nebaj, Guatemala. Above, the funeral of assassinated neighborhood leader Luis Godoy, from *WHEN THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLE*.

ist speaking about government kidnappings; that man himself is later "disappeared" and, in the film, his neighbors praise him and later attend his funeral. The neighbors "clearly made the decision that they wanted to talk," Sigel said. "But they were also clearly very upset. Was it the right decision?"

Sigel and Yates spent the next several days in the neighborhood to give people time to decide if they wanted to appear in the film. The decision was yes. "They felt they were under attack already, and it wouldn't hurt. They thought it might help. And they didn't say anything terribly subversive: if they're in jeopardy it's for other things they've done, not this film."

Exacerbating security worries is the absolute conviction among all the filmmakers interviewed

Latin America. "When you're approaching people and talking to them, it's easy to assume a great sophistication of the media, which people often don't have," Sigel said. "It's putting a great responsibility on them. But some people do decide to take risks, to consciously put themselves in danger, and you have to respect that."

Such a situation faced Silber and co-producer Tete Vasconcellos in making *Another Vietnam*, which contains a powerful close-up interview with a refugee camp worker talking about ORDEN (right-wing death squad) atrocities. "Obviously there's one guy in our film we didn't protect," Silber said. "He felt compelled to talk. We told him they might take him away after the film aired. But when he heard he could speak to a million Americans—how is someone like that going to say no, given the situation and history of his country? He said, 'Load the camera.'"

Silber filmed another human

rights worker with his back to the camera. But, he said, "when I got back home I thought: 'You can still see his shirt. And he probably only has two or three shirts.' You're kidding yourself if you think you've protected them."

According to Alex Drehsler, "The worry is always there for me. Should I film this? But I've met a lot of photographers and reporters interested only in getting the story. I've never yet come across a network reporter who asked, 'What will this do to the people?' They say, 'Hey, I'm not a censor. He chose to talk.' Their major concern is to beat the competition for the story. Our position as independents is different. It's much easier to say, 'It's not our problem.' But it is our problem." Silber agreed, "The last thing a filmmaker wants is that responsibility. But you *are* taking on that responsibility."

Silber added that he believes "people do know the risk. They might not have a sophisticated view of the world. But they are very conscious of what it means to talk—not just to a camera, but to *talk*, period. There are lots of ears down there [Central America]. You can get killed for a lot less than talking." And Lucas recalled that the Guatemalan Indians living in Mexico, although illiterate, grasped the media's importance: "They are pretty well-informed. Every camp has one or two transistor radios. They listen to broadcasts from the Voice of America, the FMLN, Cuban,

Mexican, Guatemalan stations. They compare the news from both sides. They know the situation. And they're angry."

Ultimately, then, an intelligent and protective use of sources requires political sophistication, established credibility, sharpened wits, good contacts—and great doses of luck and faith. Even then, there are no guarantees for either filmmaker or subject. Obviously, however, many people think the risk is worthwhile—and certainly not the only one they will take. Recalling a scene in his film of mourners flocking with raised fists to a mass funeral for five murdered opposition leaders, Silber said, "I wonder if Americans appreciate how many people, in that one scene, risked their lives to honor their leaders. I'd like to see that kind of courage here in supporting those people."

A version of this article appeared in *The Independent Film & Video Weekly*, of which Susan Linfield is an associate editor.



# Economy

Continued from page 17

We do not believe that the principal current objective of economic organizing should be a set of legislative proposals for submission to Congress. Instead, current priority should be a radicalization of the conception of what is possible, based on educational outreach and political mobilization. In this task a coherent alternative economic program is an indispensable tool.

If this kind of organizing begins to take root, we believe that a unified and democratic movement pursuing and advancing an egalitarian and democratic growth strategy would eventually begin to challenge the rules of the capitalist game. This challenge would develop not only from a conviction that in the long run a democratic egalitarian and humane future demands it, but more immediately because any exit from the current economic debacle that is committed to paying the increasingly heavy price of perpetuating the capitalist rules of the game is bound to impose a crushing political and economic cost for most people—not only in the U.S. but throughout the world. Either we accept those rules and endure those costs, or we begin to rip free of the straitjacket that those rules impose.

It is true, of course, that a transitional economic program must move beyond the limited objectives outlined here and

begin to undertake the more demanding task of a thoroughgoing democratization of the economy and of the instruments of economic policy. Equally important, it must begin to challenge dominant conceptions of economic progress, which equate well-being with the ever increasing consumption of commodities. This requires placing human development, the expansion of free time and the development of reciprocal and fulfilling social relations at the forefront of our priorities, and consequently putting the economic recovery in its proper place—a means toward those ends, rather than an end in itself.

But we can only move in this direction if we can mobilize a strong coalition to

address the current problems of insecurity, inequality and corporate power through strategies that foster—rather than reduce—popular control. We think that the macroeconomic principles of wage-led productivity growth should form part of the foundation of any such transitional strategy.

Without such a foundation, economic appeals will lack both coherence and popular appeal. With it, economic mobilization can help launch us along the tortuous path toward a socialist democratic future.

Sam Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf co-authored *Beyond the Waste Land*, recently released in paperback by Anchor/Doubleday Press.

## SLATE

Continued from page 24

ment. The group worked on the principle of "the lowest significant common denominator." Although SLATE did not try to reach political unity, a wide variety of political views could be heard. Any group within SLATE could form a minority caucus and present proposals to the general membership. This combination of pragmatism and internal democracy allowed what one member called "a spectrum from liberal Republicans all the way to various sectarian left groups" to work together.

Jack Kurzweil compared SLATE to the New York political scene he had come

from. "New York politics were absolutely hysterical and sectarian," he said. "I came to Berkeley and I came into SLATE and I discovered that everyone was there and working together."

One member asked how Berkeley and the Bay Area made SLATE's emergence possible when most of the rest of the country was still locked into Cold War anti-Communism.

Mike Miller, SLATE's main organizer and an Alinsky-style community organizer ever since, pointed to several unique features of the Berkeley campus. First, he said, "the notion of being a graduate student as a way of life," allowed undergraduates to pick up political ideas from teaching assistants like Thygeson, whom they might talk to over coffee on Telegraph Avenue. Student housing cooperatives allowed working-class students to

attend the university. Stiles Hall, the university YMCA, allowed Communists to speak, even at the height of McCarthyism. KPFA, the first Pacifica radio station, founded in 1949, aired liberal and radical views. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union was across the bay in San Francisco.

Jim Gallagher, who now teaches labor studies at the University of Oregon, said that McCarthyism was, oddly, one of the reasons why SLATE worked as well as it did. "One of the ironies of history was that McCarthy had been so successful in shattering liberal groups and the left that at the time SLATE emerged, no one group could overwhelm it."

SLATE won many of the campus issues it raised, including voluntary ROTC and an end to discrimination in fraternities and sororities. It inspired other early New Left student groups like VOICE at Michigan, POLIT at Chicago, and PLATFORM at UCLA.

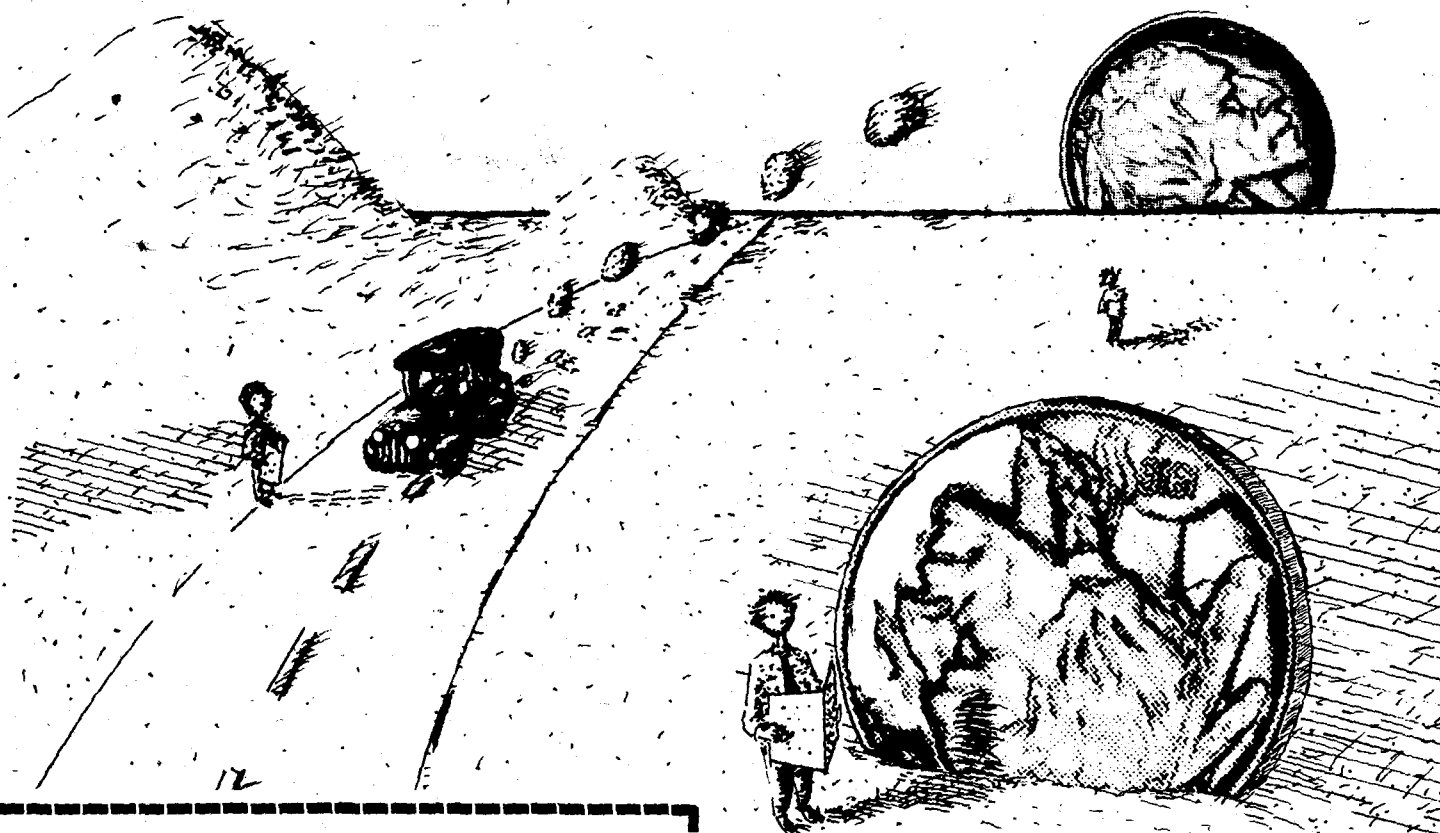
### Sexism then and now.

Sexism was the most explosive issue of the reunion. "SLATE was sexist, racist and anti-homosexual," said Gallagher. "But what was the context in which SLATE existed?"

An afternoon discussion of sexism in SLATE's past—and also at the reunion—was off-limits to reporters, but the discussion spilled over into the time reserved for a "Networking Faire." Several women talked about the division of labor that characterized SLATE, with men making the important decisions and women making the Kool-Aid.

"When men do the thinking and women do the feeling it means women carry the pain," said Leslye Mandel Russell in an emotional speech. Several men responded by talking about the pain they had felt during their SLATE years but could not discuss openly at the time. "One of the things I remember was the

REMEMBER WHEN A GOOD NEWS PAPER  
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### SUMMER GIFT SALE

Some of you may remember the days when newspapers were independent, challenging and only cost a nickel. A few of you may even remember our forerunner—the *Appeal to Reason*, which started publishing in Girard, Kansas, in 1895. It challenged the corporate agenda of the early 1900s in the same way that *In These Times* challenges the corporate politics of today.

Like *In These Times*, the *Appeal to Reason* had fewer than 30,000 subscribers after eight years of publication. But by 1912, it had grown to 760,000 readers and to be one of the most widely read weeklies in the world. It did so with the active support of its readers—the *Appeal Army*—giving and selling new subscriptions to friends, family and colleagues. Providing the American people with information and a forum to discuss new ideas needed to challenge—not just oppose—the corporate politics of Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan has been the agenda of *In These Times* for nearly eight years. But we need more "challengers." So this summer we're offering six-month subscriptions for just 5¢—the price of the *Appeal to Reason* almost a century ago.

It's our FIVE CENT SUMMER GIFT SALE! Give one six-month gift subscription for our regular rate of \$15.95 and give another one for only a nickel. You must buy the first to get the second. It's our lowest rate of the year and it's your chance to invest a nickel in our political future. Take a few minutes now to arrange for *In These Times* to be sent to your friends, family and associates this summer. Subscriptions to *In These Times* are thoughtful gifts for all occasions—for graduation, birthday, wedding, housewarming or thank-you presents—tell us the occasion and we'll send a handsome card announcing your gift.

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## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Kirby Mittemeier**.

### PITTSBURGH, PA

#### July 27-29

The Midwest Academy will hold its 11th Annual Retreat. Progressive organizers and activists from around the country will gather to share victories, plan for the future, and enjoy themselves. Anyone interested in attending should contact the Midwest Academy at 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614. (312) 975-3670.

### FAIRBORN, OH

#### August 6

Hiroshima Day Vigil to protest the arms race, 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., Gate 1-C, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Fairborn, Ohio, on Highway 444. For more information contact: Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, OH 45177, or call (513) 382-3569.

### INDIANA, PA

#### October 24-26

Conference: "Industry and Society: The Global Economy" Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Exploration of the social, economic and political aspects of the global economy. Speakers include: Richard Barnett, Barbara Ehrenreich, Benet Harrison, Ann Markusen, June Nash, Harley Shaiken, Jack Sheehan, Immanuel Wallerstein and William Winpisinger. For information: Irwin Marcus, History Dept., IUP, Indiana, PA 15705. (412) 357-2237.

### PAINESVILLE, OH

#### August 23-26

"Beating Reagan and Beyond." Join Barbara Ehrenreich, Michael Harrington, Frances Fox Piven, and student activists from around the country for the Ninth Annual Summer Conference of the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America. The socialist vision, feminist politics, and strategies for beating Reagan and building the left beyond 1984. Registration \$80.00. Scholarships available. Institute for Democratic Socialism, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, NY 10003. (212) 260-1078.



stars," said Marty Hittelman. "The stars got all the women."

"There was pain," said Thygeson, "and it was about sex and the question of hierarchy, and what it means to be a success."

Women talked about their sense of *deja vu*, which they said was causing them to regress to late-'50s behavior at the reunion. "I was in a group chaired by a man, and a man was taking notes," said Charleen Raines. "I noticed seven men in a row speaking. I didn't raise my hand. I couldn't."

The discussion heated up several times. "I think that just by being male I am being accused of being a sexist bastard," said one man. "I am not a sexist bastard." Another man launched into a speech about personal life versus politics and seemed to imply that women should

not raise issues like abortion because of the Catholic Church's importance in San Francisco progressive circles. Most of the women in the room shouted him down. Afterward everyone seemed to agree that the discussion had been useful. "The problem for me, and for many of the men, was that we neither remembered that there had been problems nor were we sensitive enough to know that there were still problems," said Thygeson.

Judy Bertelsen, a consultant and former president of Berkeley NOW, told a story about sexism during her SLATE days. "My roommate and I were talking with a guy who was also in SLATE. We were having a pretty rarefied conversation about what the good life might be. All of a sudden the guy got this funny look and said, 'Gee, I didn't know you girls were really interested in this stuff.' We said,

"What do you think we've been doing all this time?" He said, 'I thought you were just here to meet men.'"

### Getting up to date.

Discussion of current political tasks was less complete. Defeating Reagan was a priority, but the group did not try to form a strategy for the coming election. Gallagher urged everyone to register voters. Aryay Lenske said he would like to get a group together to work on defeating Reagan without working for Democratic politicians who are "corporate toadies." Like many others at the reunion, Lenske is now working with the labor movement.

Other former SLATE members are on the staffs of AFSCME and the ILWU or have worked in insurgent labor groups like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union. SLATE members were among the

founders of the Peace and Freedom Party. Some are working against the death penalty (again), in the feminist and peace movements and in electoral politics.

The organizers of the reunion plan a follow-up mailing to the approximately 270 former SLATE members they have addresses for. Included will be the results of an informal survey mailed with the first notice of the reunion. (Some questions: The truth is, I never read very much Karl Marx—true or false. I could make more money than I do but choose not to—true or false.) Former SLATE members who would like to receive this and any subsequent SLATE mailings should write to Irene Theodore Heinsteins, 2288 Fulton St., Berkeley, CA 94704. ■

*Karen Matthews has recently received a master's degree from the UC-Berkeley School of Journalism.*

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# SLATE's warm reunion:

## No "Big Chill West" in Berkeley



Photographs: The Sixties

By Karen Matthews

BERKELEY, CA

**I**N 1956 A STORY APPEARED IN THE UC-Berkeley student newspaper the *Daily Californian* with the headline, "Students go wild in UC's worst riot." It was about a water-fight and panty-raid spree. By the late '60s Berkeley had become a worldwide symbol of student revolt. A group that spanned these two eras and played a major part in transforming the one into the other held a reunion here June 22-24.

SLATE (not an acronym, but a name the group took after running a slate of candidates in the student elections) began in the post-McCarthy political void of 1957 and dissolved in 1968. By providing a forum for liberal and leftist students during the later '50s and early '60s SLATE laid the foundation for the 1964 Free Speech Movement, in which many members were active.

For the press and some participants, the question seemed to be: was this reunion going to be *The Big Chill West*? The *Wall Street Journal* decided in advance that it would be, in a story published June 19. The liberal, black-owned *Oakland Tribune* (is that a change from SLATE days!) reported that it wasn't. The 135 or so former SLATE members who gathered to see old friends and discuss the lessons of SLATE were particularly emphatic on this point.

During a Saturday morning discussion of SLATE members' current political activities, Fritjof Thygeson insisted, "This is what gives the lie to *The Big Chill*! We are so much the same!" In fact, the mood of the reunion suggested a New Left *Seeing Red*: self-congratulatory but not smug, reflective but not nostalgic.

Most of the reunion was given over to social events, including a party, an incongruous rubber-chicken hotel banquet and a picnic. On Saturday there were small-group catching-up sessions and discussions of the history of SLATE, current political tasks and sexism—a highly charged issue for a group whose heyday came well before the women's liberation movement.

In one small group, first-generation SLATE members talked about the paths that had led them to political activism and ways they've stayed active since leaving the Berkeley campus. Some, like Jorgia Siegel Bordofsky, were red-diaper babies. Both Jim Gallagher and Duran Bell were in the Young People's Socialist League while they were in SLATE, but in different factions. Gloria Martocchia-Sparrow's parents were anarchists, and her 18-year-old son is active in the anti-nuclear movement.

"My politics have not changed at all," said Martocchia-Sparrow. Though not a member of any "structured group" ("It's that anarchist background"), she has worked in the antinuclear and women's

shelter movements and is proud of her family's left-wing tradition. She works as an editor at a legal publishing firm and sings in a gospel group. "My primary concern now is how women can best function in political groups," she said.

Peter Franck, now a lawyer and a member of Berkeley's left political party Berkeley Citizens Action, said he came to SLATE as a civil libertarian and was radicalized by his SLATE experiences.

Bell, one of the few blacks who attended Berkeley in the late '50s, teaches agricultural economics at UC-Irvine. He feels politically "isolated" compared to his SLATE days, he said, though he has worked on the Jackson campaign recently. "I think I'm still a radical," he said, "but I've never managed to agree with anybody."

The history and lessons of SLATE were the subject of an afternoon session. Thygeson related a conversation he had had with historian Immanuel Wallerstein in New York. "I told him about this reunion and he said it was a very important thing to be going to. He said the student movement was fundamentally shaped by the Berkeley experience and the Berkeley experience was fundamentally shaped by SLATE."

### What made SLATE special?

Until the formation of TASC, and then SLATE, student elections were popularity contests with few substantive issues. University rules prohibited student

groups from taking positions on "off-campus" issues. The new party's first organizing issue was an on-campus one linked to the civil rights movement then beginning to stir the country—racial discrimination in fraternities and sororities. "After *Brown vs. Board of Education* it was an issue we could not lose," said Thygeson. By choosing this issue, SLATE not only brought civil rights close to home, but also challenged the fraternities' and sororities' hold on student government.

After 1957 SLATE members began to win seats on the executive committee while raising issues like voluntary (as opposed to compulsory) ROTC, increased wages for student jobs and election rules allowing candidates to distribute leaflets on campus. At the same time SLATE members were active in campaigns against the death penalty, against above-ground nuclear testing, in support of farm workers' right to organize and many other "off-campus" issues.

One of the most dramatic episodes in SLATE's history was a May 1960 sit-in at a meeting of the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco. Millions watched on national TV as the police used fire hoses to drive the protesters, many of them SLATE members, off the steps of City Hall.

SLATE's strength, former members agreed, was that it was "issue-oriented" and did not try to reach ideological agree-

Continued on page 22